May 2016
Vol 66 Issue 5

History Today

Flower of Scotland

The romance and the reality of the Jacobite Rebellion

First World War
The creation of a cyborg soldier

Ancient Rome
The Emperor Domitian's eunuch

Space Exploration
An astronaut realises a medieval dream

VISIT…

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CONTACTS
History Today is published monthly by History Today Ltd, 2nd Floor, 9/10 Staple Inn London WC1V 7QH. Tel: 020 3219 7810 enquiries@historytoday.com

SUBSCRIPTIONS
Tel: 020 3219 7813/4
subscribe@historytoday.com

ADVERTISING
Lisa Martin, Portman Media
Tel: 020 7079 9361
lisamartin@portmanmedia.co.uk

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The Ranters Ranting:
WITH
The apprehending, examinations, and confession of *John Collins, I. Shakespear, Tho. Wiberton*, and five more which are to answer the next Sessions. And severall songs or catches, which were sung at their meetings. Also their severall kinds of mirth, and dancing. Their blasphemous opinions. Their belief concerning heaven and hell. And the reason why one of the same opinion cut off the heads of his own mother and brother. Set forth for the further discovery of this ungodly crew.
Behold our love to our Fellow-Creature.
Welcome Fellow-Creature.
Let us eat, while they dance.
LONDON
Printed by B. Alsop, 165?

Black and white history: an anti-Ranter tract published in London in 1650.

FROM THE EDITOR

GARY SHEFFIELD, the combative historian of the First World War, responded with contempt to a local television company's plans to make a programme about the first day of the Somme (though barely anything of the battle's five-month course). 'My toleration of such stuff is very low at the moment', he wrote. Referring to government plans to commemorate the events of July 1st, 1916 with a nationwide vigil, he was similarly unimpressed: 'I resigned from a committee a few weeks ago because I wouldn't put up with dumbing-down any longer … No context whatsoever. No attempt at education, explanation or interpretation. Again.' He went on to recommend Stephen Badsey's 'A Muddy Vision of the Great War', his critique of television coverage of the centenary of the beginning of the conflict, published in *History Today* in May 2015.

Historians as conscientious as Sheffield have to counter a desire for certainty, which extends far beyond the demands of television producers. A simplistic, black and white world view colours much public debate at the moment, on subjects as diverse as the European Union, the Middle East, Scottish nationalism and, most strikingly, in the unedifying sight of the race to become president of the United States, a position for which a nuanced, complex view of the world might be thought mandatory.

It is crucial that historians maintain their fundamental maxim: 'It is a bit more complicated than that.' The temptation to simplify or to make glib, anachronistic parallels with the past should be avoided at all costs, though it can seduce even the finest minds.

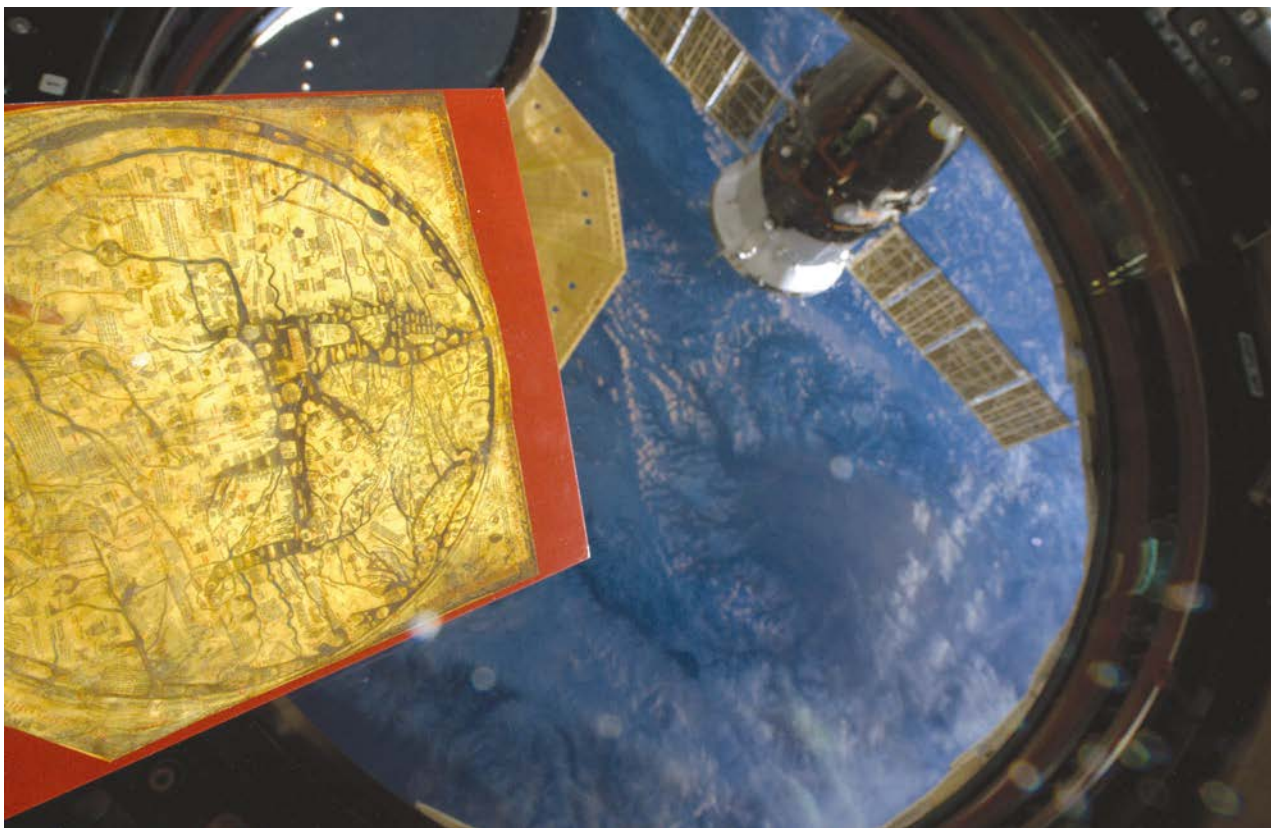
John Adamson, in his 2009 survey of the historiography of the English Civil War, recalls that time in the late 1960s and early 1970s when even historians of the order of Christopher Hill, biographer of Cromwell and author of the *World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (1972), could make unconvincing parallels between the *soixante-huitards* and the radical groups of the 1640s, such as the Levellers, the Ranters and the Diggers. 'For a moment', writes Adamson, 'Flower Power peered into the murky waters of Civil-War sectarianism and, Narcissus-like, fell in love with its own reflection.'

It is too easy to see ourselves in the past. The point is to see others.

Paul Lay

HistoryMatters

Mapping the Earth • Royal Oak • US Protectionism • Social History at 40



The World From on High

A medieval map combined with a view of the Earth from space is a reminder of humanity's ancient desire to chart the world from above.

Dale Kedwards

ON FEBRUARY 11TH, 2016 the British astronaut Tim Peake tweeted a picture from aboard the International Space Station (ISS). Captioned 'a copy of one of the oldest maps in Britain, now exploring the newest frontier here in space', it showed a facsimile of the English Hereford map (c.1300), on display at the city's cathedral, where it has been for at least 400 years.

The 700-year-old Hereford map offers a unique insight into what medieval people thought the Earth looked like. The map, drawn onto a single piece of vellum measuring 5ft 2in by 4ft 4in, is oriented in the true sense of the word with east (Latin *oriens*) at the top and has Jerusalem at its centre. The map is of the type known as the T-O: the O of the inhabited world is divided into the three known continents – Europe, Africa and Asia – by the watery T formed by the intersection of the rivers Don and Nile and the Mediterranean, whose position in the middle (*medius*) of the Earth (*terra*) is clear on Peake's photograph.

With its 1,091 inscriptions, the map was an attempt to summarise human knowledge in fields as diverse as geography, ethnography, zoology and history. The inscription that shows the location of Hereford has at some point been rubbed away and rewritten, probably as a result of generations of viewers marking their place in the world with their fingers.

Ancient and modern: Tim Peake's photograph.

What is striking about Peake's image is how alike the two views of the Earth are. Both show us circles of lands indented with darker bays and seas. Though 'the newest frontier here in space' has only recently become accessible to us, the longing for an orbital view of the Earth is not new.

In his *Phaedo*, Plato, in the fourth century BC, described the Earth from above as a patchwork of terrains and vegetations, stitched together like a leather ball. Another legend, from the fourth century AD, has Alexander the Great build a flying machine – made from a basket tethered to two griffins

– which he used to fly to such a height that the Earth looked to him like a threshing floor encircled by a serpent. Mathematical proofs of the sphericity of the Earth have been around since antiquity and medieval people were aware that they inhabited a globe. The English mystic Julian of Norwich (c.1342-c.1416) wrote that she was shown the Earth in a vision: she held it – as round as a ball and about the size of a hazelnut – in the palm of her hand.

The most influential orbital view of the Earth, however, appeared in Cicero's *De re publica* (54-51 BC). This dialogue on Roman politics concluded with the dream of the Roman military tribune Scipio Aemilianus (185-129 BC), in which

Another legend, from the fourth century AD, has Alexander the Great build a flying machine from a basket tethered to two griffins

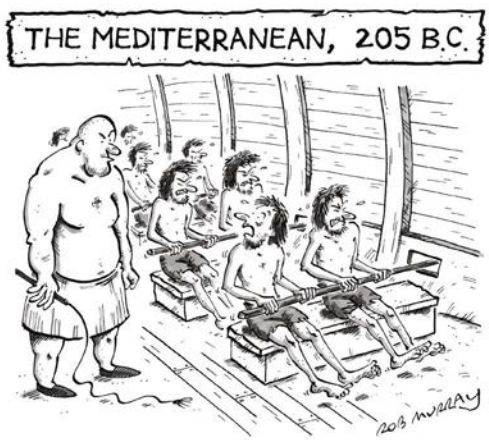
he is visited by his deceased grandfather, the renowned general Scipio Africanus, and taken up to the sky. From 'a high place full of stars, shining and splendid' Scipio observes the cosmos and its stellar workings: the Milky Way appeared as a circle of brightest white, the stars were orbs far exceeding the Earth in size and the moon shone with light borrowed from the sun. Scipio despairs at the smallness of the Earth and, even more, that of the Roman Empire, exclaiming that 'the Earth itself appeared to me so small, that it grieved me to think of our empire, with which we cover but a point, as it were, of its surface'.

Scipio's cosmic vision became a cornerstone for cosmographical thought in the High Middle Ages through Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, written in the early fifth century. Macrobius explained Cicero's literary allusions to the shape and nature of the cosmos, employing a series of maps and diagrams to show the spherical Earth in relation to the celestial sphere – the convexity of the night sky on which the stars appear to turn around the Earth – and delineate the globe into climatic zones based on latitude. The Hereford map belongs to a similar intellectual world: its circle of lands does not represent a flat disk world, but rather the inhabited part of the northern hemisphere.

Peake's view of the Earth has been anticipated for millennia. Antique and medieval thinkers lacked the technological but not the imaginative means to put themselves into orbit and look down on the Earth. Looking out of the window of the ISS onto a world where, in the astronomer Carl Sagan's words, 'everyone you love, everyone you know, everyone you ever heard of, every human being who ever was, lived out their lives', gives us a share of the breathless wonder with which the ancients mapped their world.

Dale Kedwards is a historian of medieval maps at the University of Zurich.

Alternative Histories *by Rob Murray*



*"Hold on a minute — you mean we're **all** unpaid interns?!"*

The Royal Oak

Memory, heritage and history combine in one enduring symbol of the Restoration to reveal the complexities of England's contested past.

Jerome de Groot

FOLLOWING his defeat at the Battle of Worcester in September 1651, Charles Stuart found himself a fugitive. He evaded Cromwell's troops by hiding in priest-holes in the houses of loyal subjects; disguising himself as a woman; and by climbing an oak tree at Boscobel House in Shropshire. This particular moment, the coming together of the emblematic English tree with the disinherited prince, became a key moment in the recollection of the Civil Wars. Rather than a symbol of defeat, the Royal Oak became one of defiance, of loyalty to the kingdom and of the stoicism of its subjects.

During the 1650s and especially on the occasion of Charles' Restoration in 1660, the story was celebrated and narrated. Parliament decreed May 29th – the king's birthday and the day

Branches of history: the Boscobel Oak.

he re-entered London – to be 'Oak Apple Day', a holiday dedicated to the celebration of the Stuarts' deliverance. John Wade's 1660 poem 'The Royal Oak' celebrated the tree:

These two wandred into a Wood
Where a hollow Oak there stood,
And for his Precious lives dear sake
Did of that Oak his palace make.

The resulting intellectual battle over 'what happened' at this moment in time reflects developments in historical and memorial practice over the centuries. Thomas Blount's semi-official version perpetuated various myths; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* gave a more sober account; the king told the story regularly and dictated a version to Samuel Pepys, which was not published until the 19th century. Others focused on the moment of romanticised loyalty, as in *Memoirs of King Charles I and the Loyalists who suffered in his cause*, published in 1795 in an attempt to rally support for the monarchy.

Historians began to contest the 'facts' about the king's time in the tree. John Hughes codified what became known as the 'Boscobel Tracts' in 1830, partly as a corrective to the narration found in Walter Scott's *Woodstock* (1826). Hughes called it 'by far the most romantic piece of English history we possess', but sought to present the 'sources' of the story in order to get at what truth there might be in it. In 1897 James Fea similarly updated the sources with photographs and maps, in order to further 'illustrate the adventurous and romantic story'.

As this shows, the story of the Royal Oak was of great interest through the early 19th century. Building on Scott's example, Harrison Ainsworth wrote *Boscobel: or the Royal Oak* in 1872. Ainsworth's oak is hollow and the king receives visitors there. Horace Smith's *Brambleyte House; or, Cavaliers and Roundheads* (1836) and William Dimond's *The Royal Oak: An Historical Play* (1811) testify to the renewed interest in the period. Dimond apologises that 'strict Historical fact hath occasionally been forsaken, and some incidents, altogether fanciful, have been introduced'. The story of the incident, already idealised, becomes increasingly romanticised, confused, conjectured about and added to.

The tree itself became a central part of a particular memorial culture. Pepys says that the king took a cutting from the tree and planted it in St James's Park. This oak was uprooted by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, in 1705, prompting angry complaints. Descendants of the oak are also to be found at Hyde Park, Chelsea Botanic Gardens, Donington Churchyard in Shropshire (near Boscobel) and Dropmore near Maidenhead. The tree was so popular with souvenir hunters, despite a fence and then a wall, that it died (Pepys noticed it had no bark by 1702). It is still possible to visit the 'new' tree now at Boscobel (this one recently damaged by storms, with a third planted in 2001 for the future). You can buy saplings in its English Heritage Shop and hence possess your own 'Royal Oak'. Strangely most of the pictures of the tree on social media sites – Flickr, Twitter, Facebook – have no humans in them, adding an iconic but bleak sheen to the unique Oak standing apart from the forest.

The memory of the event became more and more suffused into English culture. Though abolished in 1859, there are still celebrations around the country relating to 'Oak Apple Day'. The Chelsea Pensioners celebrate the delivery of Charles by wearing sprigs of oak in their hats and various villages in the south-west of England continue to observe the holiday.

The upsurge of interest in the early 19th century coincided with the mushrooming number of pubs all seeking patriotic customers; the 'Royal Oak' is now generally thought to be the third most popular pub name in England. It even gave its name to the Royal Oak area in West London. The popularity of the term in the early 1800s also led to the naming of a racehorse born in 1823 in Yorkshire. After an indifferent career in England, Royal Oak was taken to France, where he became the most expensive stud in French history, siring 171 thoroughbreds. It is this 'work' in siring that led to his immense significance to racing in France and the renaming of what had been the Grand Prix du Prince Imperial as the Prix Royal-Oak in 1869.

Another clear combination of tree and money is the pound coin issued as the 'English' constituent part of the UK in 1987. The Royal Oak with crown was sculpted by Raphael Maklouf, most famous for rendering the head of the queen used on coins between 1985-97.

The Royal Oak has also given its name to eight warships. The first, built in 1664, was burnt by the Dutch on the Medway in 1667; another was torpedoed while at anchor in Scapa Flow in 1939, with the loss of more than 800 crew.

The event has become a complex part of English memorial culture: as a historiographic debate, heritage, a site of tourism and memory, something to be owned, a place to drink, something to spend. Memory, heritage and history work in strange, fascinating, non-linear ways, through England into France, and tracing these various trajectories reveals to us the complexity of consumption of the past.

Jerome de Groot's *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* is published by Routledge.

The Return of Protectionism

US presidential candidates are reprising the arguments of a century ago.

Marc-William Palen

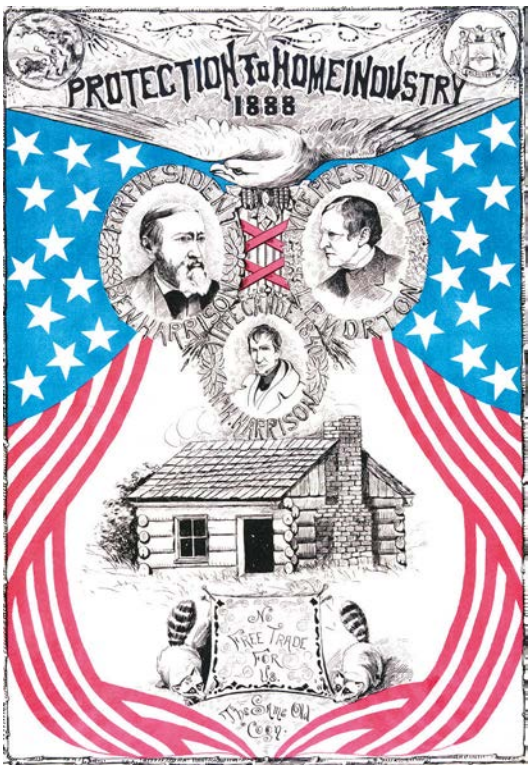
FREE TRADE is under fire in the United States. The Democratic Party hopeful Bernie Sanders lambasts free trade agreements for forcing 'American workers to compete against desperate and low-wage labour around the world'. Republican frontrunner Donald Trump has called for 45 per cent duties on Chinese products and punitive tariffs on US companies that build factories abroad. 'History doesn't repeat itself, but it does rhyme', Mark Twain is attributed as saying and the mounting opposition to trade liberalisation has echoes of Twain's Gilded Age America, when opposition to liberalisation became the foundation of US political economy and foreign policy. The embrace of free trade by America's political elites arose only in the wake of the Second World War.

At the end of the Civil War, in 1865, the Republican party rebranded itself as a supporter of protectionism, introducing high tariffs alongside government subsidies for US industry. Such policies, directed at Britain, bastion of free trade, saw Adam Smith's invisible hand hiding behind protectionist walls.

In the late 19th century the US and Britain had a very different relationship from the 'special' one of today. Anglo-American relations were riven with tensions reflected in Republican trade policy, which reflected a fear of the unfettered competition that would advantage Britain's advanced industries.

Anglophobia became entwined with the GOP's defence of economic nationalism, which promised to protect the high wages of American workers and to help allay widely held fears that America's nascent industries would be pulled prematurely into Britain's orbit.

Not all Americans agreed that the Republican party's mixture of economic nationalism and imperial expansion was the best approach for the creation of US wealth, but, with shades of Trump's conspiratorial view of China, Anglophobic paranoia arose when US supporters of free trade began to mobilise and to work closely with allies in Britain.



Home front: a US anti-free trade poster from 1888.

A vocal minority of American free traders, in emulation of Britain's liberal system, desired an end to US protectionism and sought instead to make peaceful expansion into foreign markets through international trade liberalisation. They based their vision for US economic globalisation on the Victorian ideology known as Cobdenism, named after Britain's free-trade apostle Richard Cobden, the radical politician who had led the charge in overthrowing British protectionism in the 1830s and 1840s and who threw himself into the international peace movement until his death in 1865. His philosophy gained an influential following in the US, including abolitionists such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Ward Beecher and William Lloyd Garrison, who subscribed to his belief that international free trade and a foreign policy of non-interventionism would bring peace and prosperity, not just to the US and Britain but to the world. Protectionist policies in their view precipitated tariff wars, geopolitical rivalry and global conflict. But their idealistic fight for free trade and peace was an uphill battle.

Republican conspiracy theories stalked the postbellum free trade movement. When these same Cobdenites appeared to be gaining the upper hand in US politics in the early 1890s, the future Republican president William McKinley – a man who had earned the nickname 'the Napoleon of Protection' – exemplified the GOP's protectionist paranoia. He suggested that a transatlantic free trade conspiracy was at work. McKinley himself charged that it was 'beyond dispute' that a partnership existed 'between Democratic free trade leaders in the United States and the statesmen and ruling classes of Great Britain'.

Only a handful of years later, in 1897, the Napoleon of Protection found himself in the White House just in time to witness the dawning of a new American century and to oversee the acquisition of a colonial empire.

Republican economic nationalism found its foreign policy complement in turn-of-the-century jingoism. An economic depression from the 1870s to the 1890s enhanced the perception that the US needed more foreign markets for its surplus goods and capital. Imperially minded Republican protectionists developed new coercive methods for obtaining new markets, culminating in the Republican acquisition of a colonial empire during the Spanish-American War of 1898. From then on, Republican protectionists would direct the imperial course of US economic expansion throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Today's heated debate over US trade policy rhymes with the great tariff debate of the late 19th century. The 2016 presidential campaign trumpets the return of protectionism. Reflecting the paranoia of Republicans past, those who support free trade initiatives are now charged with being part of a vast conspiracy to undermine American democracy. As in the American Gilded Age, the future of US – and world – economic globalisation once again hangs in the balance.

Marc-William Palen is Lecturer in Imperial History at the University of Exeter and author of *The Conspiracy of Free Trade: The Anglo-American Struggle over Empire and Economic Globalization, 1846-1896* (CUP, 2016).

Social History 40 Years On

A genre pioneered by the likes of Asa Briggs and Harold Perkin stands on the cusp of a great leap forward.

Pamela Cox

THE DEATH OF ASA BRIGGS in March robbed social history of one of its lions. In 1976, just as he stepped down as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sussex, he became one of the founders of the Social History Society (SHS) and remained its honorary president until his death.

Briggs was one of many pioneers of social history. The main driving force behind the SHS was Harold Perkin, author of *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (1969). Both were Labour men, grammar school boys and both were inspired by E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). Both defined their work against the more radical History Workshop group arising out of the 'New Left'.

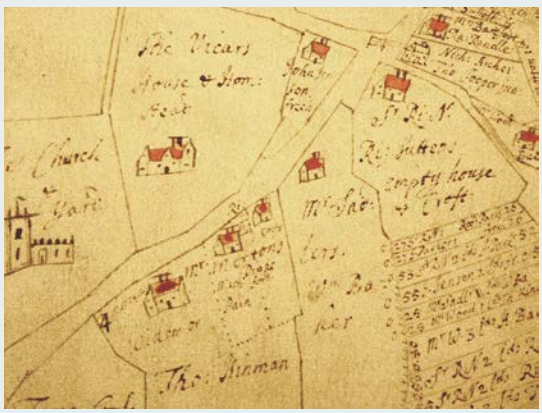
A few days after Briggs' death, the SHS held its 40th anniversary conference, to take stock of the genre. In academia, it feels as if social history stands on the cusp of a great leap forward. Powered by the digitisation of millions of paper records, researchers are using 'big data' to break new ground. The Old Bailey Online project, for example, has created public access to nearly 200,000 trials across two centuries dating from the late 1600s.

Similarly, the 'Founders and Survivors Initiative' links the records of 73,000 convicts transported from Britain and Ireland to Tasmania, records which can get down to intimate detail, revealing lost loves, captured, for example, in the tattoos inked on a convict's forearm.

The acclaimed 'Legacies of British Slave-ownership' project has lifted the lid on every recorded slave-owner in the country, from metropolitan elites such as the Gladstone family to market-town spinsters. Not only do we learn how much compensation each was awarded for the 'loss' of their emancipated slaves; we also learn what they did with that money. Slave compensation saw government funds channelled into middle- and upper-class coffers. Some slave-owners left life-transforming legacies to relatives, others made investments in steelworks, coal mines, railways, libraries, galleries and gardens, providing much of the capital behind Briggs' 'Age of Improvement'.

This new approach is not the preserve of modernists. Early modernists and medievalists, too, are using these tools in distinctive ways. 'England's Immigrants 1330-1550', for example, is documenting the many migrants who made their livelihoods in England during the Middle Ages.

One of the keynotes at the SHS conference asked us to consider the emotional geographies of one of the best-documented parishes in early modern England. Chilvers Coton, a community of almost 800 residents straddling the Warwickshire coal seam, is being brought alive by Steve Hindle, through a cache of maps, surveys and household censuses created by the local landowner in 1684.



Emotional geography: Chilvers Coton mapped in 1684.

Large-scale collaborative research is thawing the often frosty relationship between social and economic historians

Read against standard parish records, the documents enable us to virtually walk down the village's lanes and look through its windows. We learn that several infants were born within months of each other at one end of the village and that Wash Lane was full of widows: some taking in lodgers and others lodging with relatives. Household inventories show that the village's many metal workers, when not making coal rakes and sieves, were also its musicians, owning a fine collection of fiddles.

This kind of large-scale collaborative research is thawing the often frosty relationship between social and economic historians. Since the 1950s, the two factions have argued over research methods and battled over the soul of the discipline. The banking historian Leslie Pressnell remarked that where social historians embraced 'bleeding heart' stories of exploitation and resistance, economic historians were seen as a rather 'bloodless lot', turning to ever more complicated 'cliometrics' to trace past growth patterns and business cycles.

Like many, I applaud social historians' efforts to open up space for hidden histories: of women, empire, sexuality, consumer cultures and more. At the same time, I value the work of economic historians, which retained a more material focus on demographic shifts and changes in living standards, health and life expectancy.

These new collaboratve projects allow us to combine both approaches. They also open up new possibilities for something that has long been at the heart (bleeding or otherwise) of social history: empathy. Debates at the SHS conference showed that, while divisions still exist between us, a common belief in the basic value of historical empathy is something that still unites us.

To say that social history allows us to develop empathy with, say, the tenants or landlords of Chilvers Coton is not to say it encourages sympathy for them or to say that it demands a particular political response from us. Rather, it is that we can, momentarily, walk in their shoes, see the world from their perspective, understand what was important to them and why. To experience empathy is to experience an expansive, cosmopolitan and skeptical disposition. Some might say it is social history's creed.

Pamela Cox is Professor of Sociology and History at the University of Essex and Chair of the Social History Society.

The Flower of Scotland

Few events have been as romanticised and misunderstood as the Jacobite Rebellion, which broke out in 1745. And, as **Jacqueline Riding** explains, politics has brought its myths to the fore once again.

IT WAS ONE OF THE IMAGES of the 2015 General Election. Not a beaming David Cameron on the steps of 10 Downing St after securing, against all the odds and the now discredited opinion polls, a Conservative majority (albeit a slim one). No, it was a photograph of Alex Salmond, former leader of the Scottish National Party (SNP) and ex-First Minister of Scotland. The new honourable member for Gordon is seen breezing past the doorkeepers at Members' Lobby, en route to the Commons Chamber during the State Opening of Parliament, face flushed, arms swinging with abandon. While this image, with the accompanying caption 'When yer absolutely hammered but the bouncer still lets you in anyway' went viral on Twitter, other, more observant, folk were noting a particular feature of Mr Salmond's attire: a white rose button hole. This detail stimulated lively discussions, theories and clarifications. The thistle is understood to be the national flower of Scotland, so what was the significance of a white rose?

Some south of the border, particularly those from Yorkshire, expressed surprise and even delight, that Alex Salmond was signalling his camaraderie with God's Own County, while others pondered whether the flower alluded to a little-known and unexpected affinity with the 15th-century Plantagenet kings of England. It emerged that, for several decades now, the Scottish Nationalists have worn a white rose at ceremonials such as the State Opening at Westminster and Holyrood, as recounted by a party source, to 'symbolise the white rose in the poem'. That poem is 'The Little White Rose' by Hugh MacDiarmid:

The rose of all the world is not for me.
I want for my part
Only the little rose of Scotland
That smells sharp and sweet – and breaks the heart.

These lines are also carved into the Canongate Wall, part of the Scottish Parliament buildings in Edinburgh. The button hole that Mr Salmond and his fellows were sporting, however, turned out to be a cultivated African-grown florist rose rather than the beautiful, hardy and native little Scots Rose or *rosa spinosissima*, a common, five-petal summer flower, but the spirit of the symbol was there.

The unprecedented sight of 56 SNP MPs at Westminster all wearing white roses certainly drew attention to it. The 'Little White Rose' of Scotland may be a modern nationalist symbol, but from the late 17th century the white rose has been an emblem of the Jacobites, the supporters of the exiled Stuart king, James VII of Scotland and II of

Alex Salmond, MP arrives for the State Opening of Parliament, May 27th, 2015.

England and Ireland and his male heirs. Other symbols include the sunflower (loyalty), moths and butterflies (transformation/hope) and the oak leaf and acorns, the latter a dynastic symbol associated with the Boscobel Oak Charles II hid in after his defeat at the Battle of Worcester in 1651 (see History Matters, page 4). In exile for a second time, from 1690, the oak also came to signify the hope of a similar reversal in Stuart fortune. In some interpretations, the White Rose specifically signifies James Frances Edward Stuart (b.1688), James VII and II's son, whose birthday, June 10th, is celebrated as 'White Rose Day'. As seen on a fan at the Victoria and Albert Museum, a white rose and two buds represents James Francis Edward and his offspring, Charles Edward and Henry Benedict.

A Jacobite fan depicting the white rose and Charles II hiding in an oak tree.

The white rose is thought to have become particularly visible, as a specifically Jacobite symbol, during Charles' attempt to restore the dynasty in 1745-6. One legend has the Bonnie Prince (not unlike, according to Shakespeare, his distant Plantagenet forefathers) plucking a white rose to adorn his hat during the march through the Western Highlands towards Edinburgh. Even if this is true, for practical reasons it is unlikely that Charles or members of the Jacobite army wore roses throughout the campaign (July 1745 to April 1746). It is therefore a possibility, as suggested by the National Records of Scotland, that the white rose was represented, in turn, by the 'white cockade', which Jacobite troops and supporters certainly did wear. Cockades, textile rosettes, were already an established visual signal of political allegiance in Europe. But during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 the symbol had become so well known that the use of the white cockade, indeed 'white' in general, was the coded means by which adherents to the Stuart cause made themselves known wherever Charles and his army marched.

It was widely reported, prior to the prince's arrival at Edinburgh on September 17th, 1745, that Charles habitually wore highland garb and a blue bonnet with a white cockade. Richard Cooper's 'Wanted poster', produced after the British government announced a £30,000 bounty for the prince's capture, was probably created before the Edinburgh-based artist had actually seen his subject, as the image is more caricature than portrait and the garb bears little relation to the red tartan short coat, red velvet breeches and boots Charles wore at this time. After his father was declared James VIII and III at Edinburgh's Mercat Cross, the historian John Home, who was present, observed that 'a

The Last Kings of Scotland?

1685

Charles II of England and Scotland succeeded by his Catholic brother, James II (James VII of Scotland)

1688

June 10th: James Francis Edward Stuart born as the Catholic heir to James II

James II by Godfrey Kneller, 1684.

1688

James II (left) is overthrown by forces supporting his daughter Mary II and her husband William of Orange in the Glorious Revolution. James flees to Ireland

number of ladies in the windows strained their voices with acclamation, and their arms with waving white handkerchiefs in honour of the day'. During the Jacobite army's occupation of Manchester in late November, the teenager Elizabeth 'Beppy' Byrom, daughter of the poet and Jacobite sympathiser John, noted in her journal on November 29th the making of 'St. Andrew's crosses', as she calls them, and the following day, St Andrew's Day itself, 'more crosses making till twelve o'clock'.

SHE IS ALMOST certainly referring to cockades of white cotton fabric or ribbon. In anticipation of Charles' imminent arrival, Beppy had also purchased a white dress with a blue sash, which she wore to greet the occupying army and again the following evening, when she finally met the man of the hour himself. James Maxwell of Kirkconnell, an officer in the Jacobite army, recalled that from 'Manchester to Derby the country seemed pretty well affected. As the army marched along, the roads, in many places, were lined with numbers of country people, who showed their loyalty by bonefires, acclamations, white cockades, and the like'. Another officer, Captain John Maclean, also noted 'at severall houses we saw White flags hanging out Such as Napkins and white Aprons, and in the Gavels of Some houses white Cockades fixed'.

Whatever its origins, in the mid-18th century the white rose/cockade was an international symbol of political and dynastic affiliation, not specifically a Scottish nationalist one. This continued into the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with the formation of the Order of the White Rose, a society to which a medley of people were drawn, from Scottish nationalists to adherents of the 'true' British royal line, to sympathetic antiquarians. The latter were keen to rid the Jacobite cause and the Stuart dynasty in general of the thick, sticky layer of romantic doom that had enveloped it. At the same time, the legitimist Jacobite League of Great Britain even considered putting members forward as candidates in parliamentary elections. It is unlikely that many now, including the SNP, would advocate (through the wearing of a white rose) the removal of The Queen in favour of a German duke, Franz von Bayern (b.1933), who is identified by the Royal Stuart Society as the current heir of the Stuart dynasty and therefore, as Franz or Francis II, *de jure* British monarch. He is also, as it happens, the great-grandson of the last ruling King of Bavaria, Ludwig III. As Oscar Wilde might have said, to lose one crown ... Alex Salmond denied any whiff of Jacobitism in his wearing of a white rose and, in any case, the Stuart heir has, we are told, no interest in pressing his claim. This seems, however, a good moment to explore other myths and realities around the Jacobites, Jacobitism and the event that generated and continues to perpetuate more myths than the entire subject combined: the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion.

Perhaps the most important myth to bust is nationality. All Jacobites were Scottish, right? The only thing that united all Jacobites was not their nationality, but their desire to see the return of the Stuarts to the British and Irish thrones. Jacobites came from all parts of the British Isles and Ireland and, in exile, formed an international network, living as far afield as Italy, America, Russia and beyond. Neither were all Jacobites Catholic. The 'senior' Stuart branch, the male heirs of James VII and II, were indeed Catholic, but many Jacobites were protestant: whether 'High Church' Anglican and Episcopalian, or dissenting. Lord George Murray, lieutenant-general of the Jacobite army during the '45, was protestant, as was the Life Guards commander David Wemyss, Lord Elcho. It is true that some minorities, such as British Catholics, could expect greater tolerance under a Catholic monarch, although, aside from the prominent Catholic clans, few Catholics within Britain displayed any interest in joining Charles' campaign. The most eminent English Catholics, the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk, attended court at St

It is unlikely that many now, including the SNP, would advocate the removal of Her Majesty the Queen for a German duke

1689

April 11th: Coronation of William III and Mary II

1689

First Jacobite uprising. John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee launches assault on provisional Scottish parliament

1690

April 30th–May 1st: Jacobite army led by Thomas Buchan is defeated by Orange Royalists led by Thomas Livingstone at Battle of Cromdale

1692

Massacre of Glencoe. Thirty-eight members of Clan McDonald are murdered by members of Clan Campbell on the grounds that they had not pledged allegiance to William and Mary. Forty women and children die of hypothermia

James's at the height of the threatened advance to London. As Henry Fielding observed in his journal, *The True Patriot*:

The Season which they have chosen to express their Attachment to his present Majesty, should silence the Clamours of hot-headed Men, who cannot separate the Ideas of a Roman Catholic and a Rebel, tho' it be a notorious Truth, that not one single Man of Consequence, who is a Professor of that Religion, hath taken the Opportunity, of these Times of Danger and Confusion, to express Marks of Disaffection to the Government, or to endeavour molesting it.

The prince's Catholicism and that of his close associates, Sir Thomas Sheridan (Charles' former tutor in Rome) and Colonel John William O'Sullivan, who were also Irish, created tensions within the Jacobite command from the onset. Some believed that James Francis Edward and his heirs should convert, as France's Henry IV had done, while some wanted them back regardless, as their right to rule was divine and incontrovertible and was certainly not dictated by the desires (or, as they would see it, self-interest) of ministers and parliaments. Although James VII and II and his son sacrificed everything for their Catholicism, it is not so certain whether the Jacobite heir-apparent in 1745, Charles, would have done the same. While he needed the support, both financial and military, of his powerful Catholic cousin, Louis XV of France, he was unlikely to convert. But might he have done so to strengthen his position, in a predominantly Protestant Britain, once his father was in possession of the throne? We will never know, but there are some hints.

After the Battle of Culloden in April 1746, Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare recalled a conversation he had with Charles while the prince was a fugitive in the Western Highlands and Islands:

'Do you 'no, Mr. M'Donald,' he says, 'what religion are all the princes in Europe of?' I told him I imagin'd they were of the same establish'd religion of the nation they liv'd in. He told me they had litle or no religion at all.

Such comments make clear that Charles was less wedded to Catholicism than either his father or his brother. Within

Richard Cooper's 'Wanted poster' of Charles Edward Stuart, 1745.

Queen Anne, the last Stuart monarch, 1703.

1701
Act of Settlement disqualifies Catholics from inheriting the English throne

1702
March 8th: Anne becomes Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland after death of William III

1707
May 1st: Acts of Union unite kingdoms of England and Scotland as Great Britain. Anne becomes Queen of Great Britain and Ireland

a year of Charles' reported comments, Henry had returned to Rome, taken holy orders and entered the College of Cardinals; a disastrous own goal for the Stuart cause and an act his brother never forgave. It is also rumoured that Charles converted to the Church of England on his secret visit to London in 1750. Yet, ultimately, it is the prince's tragedy that the major bar to what he most desired was a thing he seemed to care so little about.

THE JACOBITES were Scottish Nationalists? Well, it is true that some supporters did want to see the dismantling of the Union between Scotland and England and, indeed, encouraging and capitalising on disaffection towards the Union was a key tool in the exiled Stuarts' public relations and recruitment arsenal, at least within Scotland in the decades immediately following the Union of 1707. In October 1745 Charles issued a proclamation from Holyrood Palace reiterating the declared Stuart position that the Union was null and void, partly, he stated, because of the bitter complaints he had received from all corners of his father's domains concerning it, but mainly, and crucially, because the Acts of Succession and Union barred the Catholic Stuarts from ruling. In other words the Union, as it stood, was anti-Stuart in Charles' mind (rather than specifically anti-Scottish) and therefore required dismantling. It is also true that, from a practical point of view, ruling the whole of the British Isles from London was less complicated than dealing with two parliaments at Westminster and Edinburgh, as the late Stuart monarchs prior to the Union, from James VI and I onwards, would no doubt agree. Charles might have thought that a successful campaign followed by his conversion could be a suitable compromise.

Portrait of a Jacobite Lady, by Cosmo Alexander, 1750s.

On a recent visit to Culloden battlefield, as we drove past the battle lines, my taxi driver pointed towards the blue flags, indicating the Jacobite army front line, and then the corresponding red British army flags and said: 'There's the Scottish army on the right and the English Army on the left.' So the Jacobite Risings – and the Battle of Culloden that terminated them – was about Scotland versus England? The excellent battlefield centre at Culloden has made a great effort to dispel this enduring myth. The guidebook even opens with a section entitled 'debunking the myths of Culloden', of which this is one. But, as my taxi driver's comment suggests, this particular piece of misinformation persists. In fact, the battlefield itself, despite the best efforts of the National Trust for Scotland, reinforces this myth.

Battlefields are strange, emotional places: none more so than Culloden. Away from the visitor centre and its even-handed didactic displays, on the open windswept, boggy moor, the battlefield is punctuated with markers where the myth is carved in stone. The stirring declaration on the 20ft-high memorial cairn reads: 'The graves of the gallant highlanders who fought for Scotland & Prince Charlie are marked by the names of their clans.' These clan stones dot the battlefield, accompanied by locations such as 'The Field of the English', traditionally where the British army dead were believed to have been buried. As the flowers placed alongside the Clan stones suggest – most conspicuously, since the success of the TV series *Outlander*, the Clan Fraser stone – these markers continue to have a powerful hold. They were introduced into the landscape by Duncan Forbes, Laird of Culloden, in 1881, ironically, given the message of the memorial cairn, the descendent of Duncan Forbes, the 5th Laird (d.1747), Lord President of the Court of Session, a proud Highlander and tireless supporter of the Protestant succession, as embodied by the House of Hanover, and the Union. Certainly a large number within the Jacobite army troops were fighting

1714

August 1st: George I becomes first Hanoverian king of Great Britain and Ireland after death of Anne

1715

'The Fifteen': Following George I's coronation, Tory Jacobites organise armed rebellions against the British army, led in Scotland by John Erskine, the Earl of Mar. The rebellion collapses in early 1716

1719

June 10th: Spanish government sponsors Jacobite rebellion in north-west Highlands. Rising is defeated by British army troops at Battle of Glen Shiel

1720

December 20th: Charles Edward Stuart, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' born in Rome

for Scotland – although, technically, the Jacobite army as a whole was fighting first and foremost for a Stuart restoration – but their leader, Charles, had shown no interest in restoring his dynasty to the throne of Scotland alone. After the extraordinary victory at Prestonpans on September 21st, 1745, when a majority of British army troops were still in Flanders, Charles could have established himself at Edinburgh, awaiting the long-promised French battalions to consolidate his position, while preparing for the arrival of his father as king of Scotland. This was the preferred option for many of his Scottish commanders, who considered the size of their army and the certainty that British army troops would now be recalled en masse, as a strong argument against venturing south. Instead Charles, with just 6,000 men, insisted on an advance into England. His despair on the retreat from Derby, with his great prize, London, so tantalisingly near, was profound.

Some modern accounts describe the British army as 'Hanoverian'. The Hanoverian army, which fought alongside the British army at Fontenoy, came from Hanover in Germany. Contemporaries described the army under Sir John Cope at Prestonpans, General Henry Hawley at Falkirk (another Jacobite victory, January 17th, 1746) and the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden (April 16th, 1746) as the King's Troops, not the Hanoverian or 'Government' army. It is also correct to describe it as the British army: if the troops fighting in Flanders during the War of Austrian Succession (1740-48) are called the British army, the same troops, on British soil, remain the British army.

THERE IS AN additional complication: describing the Jacobite army as the 'Highland' army. Contemporaries, Lowlanders and English alike, talked about the 'Highlanders' and the 'Highland army' and focused their attention on the Highland contingent, as Charles and his men marched through their towns and villages. This response derived from what onlookers saw as their alien appearance – the great plaids or 'Highland dresses' as some English observers described them – and the unfamiliar Gaelic language. In the early stages of his campaign, while Charles was attempting to gather support in the Western Highlands, the small army could have been described as 'Highland'. At the raising of the standard at Glenfinnan on August 19th, 1745, the 1,000 or so men gathered around it came predominantly from the Cameron and MacDonald clans. By the time the army occupied Edinburgh and had remained in the environs of the city for almost six weeks, the composition had changed, to include many lowland gentlemen and tradesmen. When the Jacobite troops crossed into England in early November,

The teenage Charles Edward Stuart depicted in highland garb by William Mosman.

A stone marks the Field of the English, Culloden.

1727

June 11th: George II becomes King of Great Britain and Ireland after death of George I

1745

Charles Stuart lands on the West Coast of Scotland with a few companions. Assembles force of around 2,000 to march on Edinburgh

compositionally it was a different army. At Culloden about two thirds of Charles' troops were Highland Gaels, but there were also Lowlanders, Irishmen, Frenchmen and some Englishmen. Meanwhile, within the British army facing them, four infantry battalions were Scottish, and the Duke of Cumberland's commanders included Charles Cathcart, 9th Lord and Chief of Clan Cathcart. The highest-ranking British army fatality was Lord Robert Kerr, eldest son of the Marquis of Lothian, and brother of the Earl of Ancram, who commanded cavalry during the battle.

THE LARGE Highland contingent was very distinctive. To create a visual cohesion across the whole army, while encouraging the idea of a single body, tartan plaid was worn, via an item of clothing or, in the case of the English Manchester Regiment, a sash, whether a clansman or not. The wearing of tartan plaid, once so particular to the Highlands, gave the impression, to an outsider, that the Jacobite army was a distinctly Highland force. When the rebellion failed, in contrast to what had occurred after previous risings, the Highland way of life was directly targeted. As Colonel Joseph Yorke, one of Cumberland's aides-de-camp, declared to his brother, Philip, soon after Culloden: 'You must never expect to see a total end to the rebellious spirit of this country till the Highlanders are unclanned, undressed, effectually disarmed and taught to speak English.' To many beyond the Highlands, the dress, particularly tartan plaid, was now synonymous with the Jacobite cause. Lord President Forbes, however, considered disarming, rather than 'undressing', to be the crucial factor in preventing another rebellion: punishing those who had joined Charles, along with 'all the rest who have not, and who I will venture to say are the greatest Number' was unreasonable. Despite his plea, the Act of Proscription came in to force on August 1st, 1746, through which the wearing of Highland dress was prohibited. The only official exemption was within the British army, towards which Highland military prowess would now be channelled. Inevitably, this law also confirmed tartan as the covert and, in some instances, overt symbol of protest and resistance.

Even the origins of Highland dress has its complications.

The memorial cairn on Culloden Moor.

According to a footnote written by H.R. Duff, the editor of Lord President Forbes' *Culloden Papers*, quoting a 1769 letter by Evan Baillie, published in the *Edinburgh Magazine* in 1785, 'the kilt or Pheliebeg [Philibeg] was not the antient Highland garb, but was introduced into the Highlands about 1720 by one Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman'. The author concludes that: 'The convenience of the dress soon caused it to be universally adopted in the Highlands.'

Jacqueline Riding is Research Fellow at Birkbeck, University of London and author of *Jacobites: A New History of the '45 Rebellion* (Bloomsbury, 2016).

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1745

September 21st: Battle of Prestonpans. Jacobite army led by Charles defeats the British army in Scotland led by Sir John Cope

1745

Jacobite army advances as far as Swakestone Bridge, Derbyshire. Lack of French and English support prompts army to return north, against Charles' wishes

1746

January 17th: Battle of Falkirk Muir. Jacobite army defeats British army led by Henry Hawley. The army marches north pursued by George II's son, the Duke of Cumberland

1746

April 16th: Jacobite forces decisively defeated at Culloden Moor, near Inverness, by British army troops, led by the Duke of Cumberland. The rebellion collapses. Charles Stuart flees via the Isle of Skye to France

In*Focus*

Going for Gold, 1964

SENATOR Barry Goldwater from Arizona wins the Republican presidential nomination at its 1964 Convention. In one play on his name, 'gold coins' rain down, while on the placards it is a chemical formula. His good looks and a good war in Burma give him immediate appeal.

His new brand of Republicanism had its birth in William Buckley's *National Review* magazine in the 1950s and matured in his own book *The Conscience of a Conservative* (1960), ghosted by Buckley's brother-in-law. He was trying to supplant the New Deal orthodoxy, get away from McCarthyism and from the Eisenhower-era Republican identification with East Coast country club elites. He was anti-Communist but also anti-Washington, like many Arizonans, who felt too much of their state was national park or forest, Indian reserve or military base. Big government threatened liberty, whether through civil rights, social security, federal aid for schools, federal welfare, farm programs or the union shop.

Goldwater's campaign had significant handicaps: it was conducted under the shadow of the Kennedy assassination the previous November and in the face of what has been called 'the most one-sided and unfair press coverage ever deployed' before an election. He was portrayed by commentators as inept and irresponsible, as determined to end social security and with a dangerous attitude to nuclear weapons. He did not help himself with his off-the-cuff suggestion that the Ho Chi Minh Trail be defoliated with low-level nuclear devices.

Lyndon Johnson may have brushed him aside, but the election taught his new-style Republicans, including the 17-year-old Hillary Clinton, who campaigned for him, how to organise, how to fund-raise, how to compete. By computerising mailing lists of likely contributors, supporters raised $5.8 million at a cost of $1 million, big money in those days. Most importantly, Goldwater ran strongly in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina, signalling the end of the Democrat hold on the South, as white voters transferred their allegiance.

Here was the basis for Nixon's southern strategy, which got him into the White House after the traumas of 1965-68: defeat in Vietnam, riots at home, the counter-culture challenging beliefs, Black Power's demands for civil rights and economic equality. The white working class was unsettled; it sought Republican reassurance and, but for Watergate, there might have been no Democrat intermission later in that decade. Goldwater, meanwhile, went his own way. When the religious right took over the Arizona Republican party in the 1990s, he endorsed the Democrat candidate for the House of Representatives.

ROGER HUDSON

KENTUCKY
GOP
GO
GO
GO
GOLDWATER
PRESIDENT
Au H2O+
GOP+64

The Kidnapping of Ganymede by Peter Paul Rubens, 1611-12.

The Eunuch and the Emperor

Was the eunuch Earinus the lover of Domitian, one of Rome's 'Bad Emperors'? **Llewelyn Morgan** pieces together the extraordinary relationship between them.

ROMAN POETRY offers many pleasures, but one thing it does not often provide is insight into the lives and experiences of the socially marginalised. We hear a lot about members of the social and political elite, from whom came both the authors and most of the readers of literature in Rome. We also see a fair amount of abuse directed at figures who might threaten the control exerted by this elite, such as influential women or powerful ex-slaves. Sympathetic accounts of the lives and aspirations of such people are, however, thin on the ground.

No group in Greco-Roman society was more maligned than the one to which Earinus belonged. He was a eunuch. To a culture that associated sexual potency with social respectability, eunuchs were beneath contempt. Yet for a brief moment in AD 94 Earinus transcended his contemptible condition, or at least that is how it appears from examination of the historical record. The story of Earinus tells us something about an individual's efforts to achieve dignity in a culture that despised him.

Earinus was a slave owned by Domitian, Roman emperor from AD 81 to 96. Our evidence for Earinus' life comes almost entirely from the poetry of Statius and Martial, the leading lights of Rome's literary culture during Domitian's reign. Like Caligula, Nero or Caracalla, Domitian is one of the 'bad emperors'. He was undoubtedly paranoid ('Shortage of funds made him rapacious', wrote his biographer

The Arco Felice, constructed by Domitian, one of the architectural projects that asserted his control over Rome. Engraving, Filippo Morghen, c.1766.

Suetonius, 'and fear made him savage'). Yet there is a case to be made that, while less tactful than other emperors, he understood the essential character of imperial rule and was a competent and assiduous administrator. The greater prominence of Domitian in the public eye and the more blatantly autocratic nature of his regime left its mark on contemporary literature: one reason for the comparative neglect of Statius and Martial in modern scholarship is their sycophantic treatment of the emperor. But there is more to both poets than flattery and, even when they do schmooze Domitian, there is considerable historical interest in how they go about it.

One aspect of this more autocratic tendency under Domitian has special relevance for Earinus. Domitian had appointed himself Perpetual Censor, the guardian of traditional Roman morality. Among his enactments as Censor, courtesans were forbidden from travelling in litters, a conveyance that conveyed status, and a senator was expelled from the Senate for being too keen on dancing. More disturbingly, when a Vestal Virgin committed adultery, Domitian had her buried alive. (Her lovers were beaten to death with rods in the Forum.) But this puritanical zeal also saw him ban child prostitution and child castration; with a characteristic eye for detail he also introduced price controls, thereby ensuring that slave dealers who still had eunuchs on their books would not benefit from a rise in price as the commodity became more scarce.

Six poems by the epigrammatist Martial, all from his ninth book, and one longer composition by Statius, from his occasional poems known as *Silvae*, describe an elaborate, international ceremony in AD 94. Earinus, at the time aged between 16 and 18 years old, cut his long hair short and sent the cuttings, enclosed in a gold box studded with precious stones and accompanied by a golden mirror, as an offering to Asklepios, god of medicine, at his shrine in Pergamon (Pergamon is now Bergama in western Turkey, but was then an important city in the wealthy Roman province of Asia).

Domitian had appointed himself Perpetual Censor, the guardian of traditional Roman morality

Statius' poem recounts Earinus' life up until that moment in AD 94, in the highly stylised manner of court poetry. It is the poetic counterpart, consciously so, of the gold, bejewelled box that bore his hair to Pergamon. Extracting dependable biographical information about Earinus from it (and from Martial's epigrams on the same topic) is a challenge, but what we can gather is that Earinus had been born at Pergamon and was either a slave from birth or had been sold into slavery (perhaps by impoverished parents) at a very early age. Trafficked to Rome, in conditions certainly grimmer than those Statius describes (a swan-drawn chariot driven by Venus herself …),

Earinus entered the service of the emperor.

At some point, but most likely when still a very small child, Earinus had been castrated. A Byzantine medical treatise by Paul of Aegina describes the kind of procedure he underwent:

When still infants, children are placed in a basin of hot water. Then, when the parts are relaxed, the testicles are squeezed with the fingers while still in the basin until they disappear and, being dissolved, no longer feel solid to the touch.

Castration of male children, by this or by a surgical method, produced a commodity for which dealers could ask high prices: a slave considered more malleable and docile, representing no threat to an owner's womenfolk and whose boyish good looks would be preserved beyond the natural age of puberty.

Eunuch slaves and ex-slaves of the emperor's household would become a significant phenomenon in the later Roman Empire, in some cases wielding immense power. In Earinus' day, however, the imperial eunuch was still a rarity. One interesting exception is Posides, an official of the Emperor Claudius half a century earlier, who was involved in some capacity in the conquest of Britain. Posides was notorious for his immense wealth and extravagant building projects. There is an attractive theory that he gave his name to Positano, jewel of the Amalfi Coast: a spectacular Roman villa underlies much of the modern town and may have been called Posidetanum, the villa of Posides.

The sources never let us forget that Posides was a eunuch. His condition both fascinated and appalled Romans. They also encountered eunuchs in the cult of Cybele, notable for the *galli*, eunuch acolytes of the goddess, who processed through Rome to the accompaniment of drums, cymbals and raucous music. Self-castration for the *galli* was a way of distancing themselves from ordinary life and drawing closer to the divine. (The Skoptzy, a Christian sect in 19th-century Russia, are another example of such a phenomenon.) Cybele's festival was an important one in the Roman calendar, but the *galli* were never something the Romans could feel comfortable with.

Positano on Italy's Amalfi Coast, site of the villa that may have belonged to Posides.

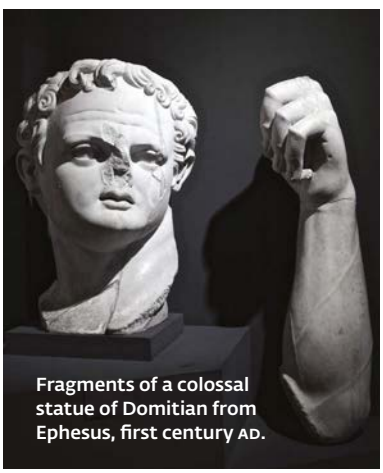
Eunuchs were a decadent, eastern phenomenon, an alien and alarming presence to many in Rome. Representative of this attitude is the poet Claudian in his attack on Eutropius, a political rival of Claudian's patron Stilicho, also a eunuch. Claudian runs through a litany of horrifying events – speaking animals, showers of stones, fountains turned to blood – but insists that all fall short of the

Domitian, AD 51-96

ACCORDING TO Suetonius' *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (AD 121), Domitian, the third and final ruler of Rome's Flavian dynasty, founded by his father Vespasian in AD 69, was born on October 24th, AD 51 and spent a childhood defined by poverty in a family that did not have a 'single piece of plate'. Following the suicide of Nero in 68, Rome endured civil war in the bloody Year of the Four Emperors, which culminated in the ascension of Vespasian.

Vespasian was succeeded by his first son Titus, who died in AD 81. Suetonius writes that Domitian 'never ceased' to plot against his brother and, when Titus became ill from 'a dangerous disease', Domitian ordered he be left for dead. He succeeded his brother to the imperial throne on September 14th, AD 81.

Suetonius describes Domitian as tall and handsome in youth but afflicted by baldness and a protruding belly in later life. He was 'excessively lustful' and 'incapable of exertion'. During his early rule Domitian spent 'hours in seclusion every day', though he became known for 'grand costly entertainments' and the restoration of many buildings destroyed by a fire in AD 80, including the Capitol. Despite his own immorality, he put in place measures to raise public standards, forbidding male castration and punishing the adultery of the Vestal Virgins, which had been tolerated by his father and brother. Domitian was not considered a military emperor, according to Suetonius, though he did embark on a successful campaign against the Germanic tribe, the Chatti, in upper Weser in AD 83 and was the first emperor since Augustus to give the army a pay rise.



Fragments of a colossal statue of Domitian from Ephesus, first century AD.

'Rapacious through need, cruel through fear ...'

Increasingly paranoid, Domitian 'had no hesitation in resorting to every sort of robbery' to pay for his extravagances, seizing property and wealth from the living and the dead. He stripped the Senate of its power, executing senators and officers for trivial offences. Having become 'an object of terror and hatred to all', one of the plots on his life that he had long feared was finally successful. On September 18th, AD 96 he was hacked to death in his bed by a group of conspirators, which may have included his wife, Domitia. The people, says Suetonius, received news of his death with indifference; the Senate was overjoyed.

The view from the Asklepieion along the Via Tecta towards the city of Pergamon.

ultimate prodigy Eutropius, a eunuch consul. The consul, chief magistrate of the traditional Roman state, represents Rome's austere traditional values; a eunuch their polar opposite. Claudian was writing three centuries after Earinus and Posides, but his prejudices were entirely in tune with Roman tradition.

Boiled down to its essence, Greco-Roman sexual morality was about maintaining the integrity of the male body. Domitian, meanwhile, was Roman morality in human form, the *censor perpetuus*. Yet by the time we encounter him, Earinus had become one of Domitian's closest retainers, seemingly held in great affection by the emperor. (Suetonius mentions 'a small boy clad in scarlet with an abnormally small head', to whom Domitian would chat during shows in the Colosseum; I have wondered whether this is a glimpse of Earinus.) His precise role in the palace was as Domitian's *minister*, which in Latin means cupbearer: Earinus prepared and served the emperor's wine. This brought him into intimate contact with the emperor, allowing Statius to inflate the privilege he enjoyed, having contact as he did with 'the right hand [of the emperor] that the Getae seek to know, and Persians, Armenians and Indians to touch'. But a Greco-Roman cupbearer was unlike a wine butler in one critical respect. The slave that poured the wine was expected to serve the master in other ways as well: Seneca writes of the minister who, 'dressed like a woman, wrestles with his age: he cannot escape his boyhood ... and remains awake all night, dividing it between his master's drunkenness and his master's lust'.

MARTIAL and Statius imply that Earinus was Domitian's lover as well as his wine server and dwell at length on his attractiveness. Martial spends three poems riffing on his name, its meaning being 'springlike', which the poet associates with delicacy, youth and beauty. Statius has Venus, goddess of love, first setting eyes upon him at Pergamon, 'a boy radiant with the star of exceptional beauty' and mistaking him for one of her own sons, a Cupid. Both poets also work hard to assimilate Earinus to Ganymede, Jupiter's cupbearer and lover. It is also true that, throughout history, eunuchs have been the object of sexual exploitation and that was as true in antiquity as for castrati in 18th-century Europe. So it may seem obvious that Domitian and Earinus' relationship was the same as that between Ganymede and Jupiter.

Martial and Statius imply that Earinus was Domitian's lover as well as his wine server and dwell at length on his attractiveness

For all that, there is no proof that relations between Earinus and Domitian were carnal in nature. The task facing these poets was to exalt the emperor's cupbearer and one way to achieve this, in a highly artificial literary culture, was by amplifying stereotypical traits of beauty and sexual attractiveness. It is worth considering Earinus' appearance in his later teens, when the physical consequences of his castration were no doubt becoming more obvious: the unnaturally high voice, the lack of facial hair and his youthful features. In Late Antiquity the rather otherworldly appearance that eunuchs developed would make angels and

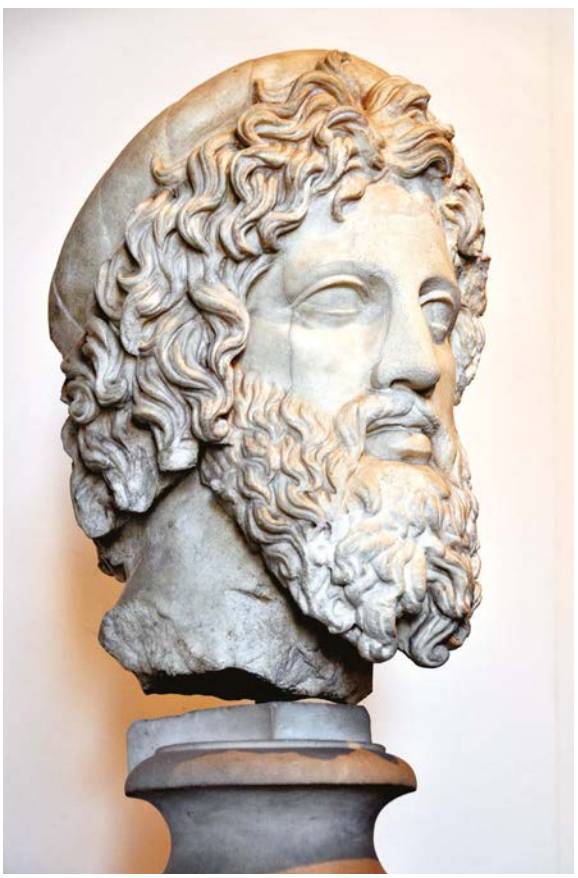
eunuchs interestingly interchangeable artistic categories; similar language was used of the castrato's uncategorisable voice. Depicting Earinus as an ethereal beauty comparable to Ganymede may be a similar strategy. Above all, Earinus must be a fitting attendant for Domitian himself and the emperor's own facial beauty was a regular theme of these poets: 'You are *sans pareil*, boy', says Statius' Venus. 'The only one more beautiful is he to whom you will be given.'

We can speculate all we like on Earinus' wider experiences, but all we really know is what happened in AD 94. The primary significance of his offering to Asklepios is clear enough and confirmed by the poets. It is a coming of age ceremony. Martial uses the key word *ephebus*, meaning a boy at the point of puberty, but the cutting and dedication of long hair, which was associated with boyhood, as a mark of transition to manhood was a well-established ritual. The golden mirror that Earinus also sent to Pergamon carried a similar symbolic force. As Statius describes it, it appears to function like a photograph, an item that captures and perpetuates his youthful beauty but which now, like the boy's long hair, is surrendered and dedicated to the god as he leaves his childhood behind him.

WHAT IS peculiar about all this is that, as a eunuch, Earinus could never 'come of age' in the standard fashion. As Statius writes, had Earinus never been castrated, 'You would have sent more than one offering to Asklepios' threshold'. As it is, Earinus can only send his hair to indicate his change in status; an uncastrated teenager would have dedicated both his hair and the first shavings of his beard. In other words, the ritual Earinus had secured for himself (and for what it is worth the poets do seem clear about his agency in persuading Domitian to allow it) is an approximation of a ritual appropriate only to an uncastrated man. Earinus is insisting on becoming an adult, notwithstanding the insurmountable obstacles, and is asserting his maturity in the most conventional way he can.

Growing up was not the only significant transition Earinus experienced in AD 94. From an introduction to Statius' third book of *Silvae* and from an ancient title to his poem about Earinus we learn that he was also no longer a slave. He is introduced as Domitian's *libertus* and named 'Flavius Earinus'. In other words, he had been freed by the emperor and had adopted the coveted 'three names' of a free man, T. Flavius Earinus, adding elements of his former master's name to his own. Manumission of favoured slaves was a common practice in Rome, but the late teens was an astonishingly early age to achieve it and a sign of the esteem in which Domitian held him. Earinus' escape from slavery seems as relevant to his ritual as his age. Long hair was a mark of slaves as well as children and cutting it was symbolic of one's achievement of freedom. Slavery and childhood were conditions easily assimilated in antiquity: male slaves, whatever their age, were addressed as *pais* or *puer*, 'boy', a reflection of their subordinate status; a freed slave, however, could proclaim himself *homo inter homines*, 'a man as good as the next man'.

So when Earinus cut his hair short, it symbolised in two parallel ways his transformation in status: he is no longer ▶



Right: bust of Asklepios, first century AD, from the Museo Palatino, Rome. Far right: the physician Galen of Pergamon, by Ekin Erman, Bergama, 2012.

Frieze depicting Asklepios and his daughter, Hygieia, fifth century BC, Vatican Museum.

a slave and he is no longer a boy. Statius is vague about the precise rationale of the dedication to Asklepios, but Martial talks of the offerings sent to Pergamon as *rata uota*, 'vows fulfilled'. The implication seems to be that Earinus had promised these offerings to Asklepios, if he secured something he desired from the god. Surely what Earinus had requested of Asklepios was to be relieved of his role as cupbearer, which entailed at one and the same time an end to his childhood and his servile status.

After this flurry of activity, ceremonial and poetic, Earinus returns to obscurity. Domitian, no longer Earinus' master after his manumission, but still his patron, was assassinated two years later in AD 96, so the silence may have many explanations. The only possible glimpse of his future life is an inscription that survives in Florence, originating in Rome, seemingly an epitaph erected by 'T. Flavius Earinus' for Luria, dead at 21; the text indicates a marital relation between the two. We cannot be certain that this is our Earinus, but if the inscription has been accurately rendered, there cannot have been many of that name wandering around the Eternal City.

Earinus may have left a trace of an entirely different kind behind him, or so at least scholars of Pergamon suspect. The evidence is a rapid expansion of the cult of Asklepios at Pergamon, datable from the turn of the first and second centuries AD; in other words, to precisely the time when the shrine had been the scene of Earinus' act of dedication. During Domitian's reign, significantly, the hereditary priests of the cult were given the honour of Roman citizenship and henceforth, like Earinus, bore Domitian's family name of Flavius. Domestic events within the Imperial court could have a disproportionate impact in the Empire at large and it is safe to assume that the ceremony in AD 94 for the emperor's favourite was magnificent. At Pergamon the theory is that the patronage bestowed upon the shrine of Asklepios by Earinus and, by extension, the emperor himself, was the spark that propelled the Asklepieion at Pergamon into its period of greatest celebrity.

IN THE DECADES after Earinus' dedication, the cult centre, which had existed since the fourth century BC, was remodelled on a much grander scale, becoming nothing less than the premier health resort of the Roman Empire. The Asklepieion at Pergamon was a religious spa, like a combination of Lourdes and Harrogate. Alongside treatment spaces, there were temples and a library and a theatre for the distraction of patients who might spend extended periods of time at the shrine. 'Asia flocks to Pergamon', we hear, though 'Asia' here is the Roman province (now, roughly, western Turkey), not the continent. In a passage from the satirist Lucian, Asklepios is one of the young, upstart gods that the head of the gods, Zeus, complains have robbed him of the respect that humanity used to give him:

Since Apollo founded his oracle at Delphi and Asklepios his hospital in Pergamon and the temple of Bendis arose in Thrace and the temple of Anubis in Egypt and the temple of Artemis in Ephesus, these are the places where they all run and celebrate feast-days and bring hecatombs, and offer up ingots of gold, while I, they think, being past my prime, am sufficiently honoured if they sacrifice to me once every four whole years at Olympia.

In its heyday the Asklepieion must have been quite something to behold. Treatment began with 'incubation',

Some scholars have seen a contradiction between Domitian's intolerance of the practice of castration and his affection for a eunuch

sleep within the precincts of the shrine: Asklepios communicated the appropriate course of therapy through dreams. One of the many instructions received from the god by Aelius Aristeides, a long-term patient at Pergamon, was to smear himself in mud from the Sacred Well and run three times around the temples. With potentially hundreds of people at any one time undertaking therapy dictated in their sleep, among them the great and good of the province of Asia, the mind boggles. It was also a dream of Asklepios that brought to the shrine at Pergamon its most famous alumnus, Galen, the greatest physician of the ancient world. He had been following a conventional education of philosophy and politics until Asklepios visited his father in a dream and instructed him to send Galen to study medicine (the Asklepieion was a place of education, too: think Lourdes-Harrogate-Oxford). Galen's influence on medical practice in antiquity and the Middle Ages stretched from western Europe to India. It is strange to imagine that Earinus' ceremony may have been its source.

A Romano-British castration clamp.

BUT ASKLEPIOS is not just a fortuitous presence in Earinus' story. He was born in Pergamon and Statius claims, somewhat implausibly, that he had had a connection to Asklepios from the beginning. But there is a logic over and above private loyalties in making these offerings to this of all gods. Asklepios was the healer god, *ho Soter Asklepios* in Greek, 'Asklepios the Saviour'; his shrine was the place you went to be cured. Paul of Aegina, who provided us with the technicalities of castration earlier, did so only grudgingly. Castration is contrary to medical principle, he insists, since 'the object of our craft is to restore parts of the body from an unnatural to a natural state'. Earinus' condition, in ancient medical terms, was unnatural, but what his dedication to Asklepios symbolised is his escape from the two handicaps to which his castration had consigned him, immaturity and slavery. In social terms, Earinus has been cured, restored to a natural state, and I think his prayer to Asklepios, in fulfilment of which he vowed his hair and the boyish image captured by the mirror, has a simple explanation. Like all supplicants to the god of medicine, Earinus prayed to be made good.

By making his dedication as he does, T. Flavius Earinus indicates that his prayer to Asklepios has been granted. And while we read all of this through the filter of a deeply conservative set of values, in which uncompromised manhood represents the ideal state, one is impressed and moved by Earinus' efforts to achieve what the ancient world considered respectability, having been dealt the grimmest of hands in a society that saw physical and social disability as moral failings.

We should not forget the emperor, whose permission was a prerequisite of everything that Earinus achieved. Some scholars of these poems have seen a contradiction between Domitian's intolerance of the practice of castration and his affection for a eunuch, even suggesting that Martial and Statius may be hinting at Domitian's hypocrisy: the moralist who slept with a eunuch. There is a precedent in antiquity for reading the story of Earinus as evidence that Domitian was a bad 'un, too. The historian Cassius Dio, writing a century or so later, makes the lurid claim that, although Domitian 'entertained a passion for a eunuch named Earinus', he outlawed castration across the Empire out of spite towards his dead elder brother Titus, who had a particular penchant for eunuchs. In actual fact, Dio probably had no better idea about Earinus than we have and was, like us, extrapolating as best he could from the writings of Statius and Martial.

The poets certainly do not downplay the tension: Martial precedes his epigrams on Earinus in Book Nine with poems celebrating Domitian's anti-castration law and Statius explicitly refers to Domitian's legislation, commenting that it came too late to save Earinus. Whether Domitian slept with Earinus or not, there seems to be no contradiction here at all. The flipside of banning castration is precisely the rehabilitation of a eunuch, his reinvention as a 'proper' man. Both are the hallmark of an emperor who styled himself the unrelenting champion of moral decency. Domitian's censoriousness could lead him to acts of intolerance and despotism, but in the case of Earinus he did the decent thing.

Llewelyn Morgan is Tutorial Fellow in Classics at Brasenose College Oxford and University Lecturer in Classical Languages and Literature.

FURTHER READING

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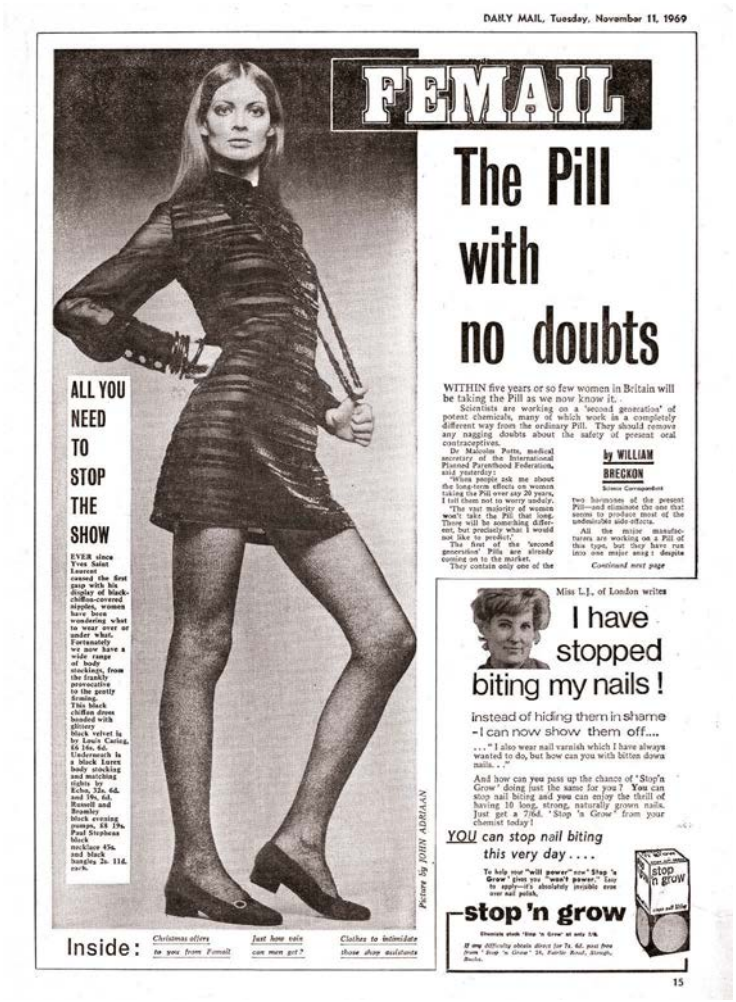

DAILY MAIL, Tuesday, November 11, 1969

FEMAIL

The Pill with no doubts

WITHIN five years or so few women in Britain will be taking the Pill as we now know it.

Scientists are working on a 'second generation' of potent chemicals, many of which work in a completely different way from the ordinary Pill. They should remove any nagging doubts about the safety of present oral contraceptives.

by WILLIAM BRECKON

Science Correspondent

Dr Malcolm Potts, medical secretary of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, said yesterday:

"When people ask me about the long-term effects on women taking the Pill over say 20 years, I tell them not to worry unduly.

"The vast majority of women won't take the Pill that long. There will be something different, but precisely what I would not like to predict."

The first of the 'second generation' Pills are already coming on to the market. They contain only one of the two hormones of the present Pill—and eliminate the one that seems to produce most of the undesirable side-effects.

All the major manufacturers are working on a Pill of this type, but they have run into one major snag: despite

Continued next page

ALL YOU NEED TO STOP THE SHOW

EVER since Yves Saint Laurent caused the first gasp with his display of black-chiffon-covered nipples, women have been wondering what to wear over or under what. Fortunately we now have a wide range of body stockings, from the frankly provocative to the gently firming. This black chiffon dress bonded with glittery black velvet is by Louis Carieg, £6 19s. 6d. Underneath is a black Lurex body stocking and matching tights by Echo, 32s. 6d. and 39s. 6d. Russell and Bromley black evening pumps, £8 19s. Paul Stephens black necklace 45s. and black bangles 2s. 11d. each.

Picture by JOHN ADRIAAN

Miss L.J., of London writes

I have stopped biting my nails!

instead of hiding them in shame - I can now show them off....

..."I also wear nail varnish which I have always wanted to do, but how can you with bitten down nails..."

And how can you pass up the chance of 'Stop'n Grow' doing just the same for you? You can stop nail biting and you can enjoy the thrill of having 10 long, strong, naturally grown nails. Just get a 7/6d. 'Stop 'n Grow' from your chemist today!

YOU can stop nail biting this very day....

To help your "will power" use 'Stop 'n Grow' gives you "won't power." Easy to apply—it's absolutely invisible over nail polish.

stop 'n grow

Inside: Christmas offers to you from Femail | Just how vain can men get? | Clothes to intimidate those shop assistants

15

Women's issues: the *Daily Mail*'s revamped 'Femail' section, 1969.

The Woman's Realm

The *Daily Mail* revolutionised the newspaper market by appealing to female readers, even though its attitude towards sexual politics has often been ambivalent, argues **Adrian Bingham**.

NOTORIOUS TODAY for its 'Sidebar of Shame', the *Daily Mail* played a pioneering role bringing women into the daily newspaper market. The paper's founder, Alfred Harmsworth (later ennobled as Lord Northcliffe), pursued the female audience with more consistency and vigour than any previous exponents of popular journalism and his success ensured that rivals followed his lead. Northcliffe moved the female reader from the margins to the centre of editorial calculations, ensuring that the definition of 'news' was radically altered, that the boundary between 'public' and 'private' was redrawn and that the visibility of women in public discourse was transformed. More than a century later, the *Mail* is still known for its skill in attracting a large female readership. A commercial interest in the female audience did not, however, necessarily translate into 'progressive' attitudes to sexual politics. Northcliffe took a long time to be persuaded that women deserved the vote and, throughout its existence, the *Mail* has been criticised for failing to be sufficiently supportive of working women. While many women were hooked by its diet of fashion, domesticity and celebrity, others were dismayed at the tendency to pander to traditional gender stereotypes.

Feminising the news

The *Mail* explicitly addressed women from its very first issue on May 4th, 1896. Northcliffe was determined that the content of the newspaper be broadened by including a page of features – heralded as the 'Daily Magazine, An Entirely New Idea In Morning Journalism', which every week would provide 'matter equivalent to a sixpenny monthly' – and he ensured that space was explicitly marked out for women's interests. The paper made a firm commitment to its female readers:

Movements in a woman's world – that is to say, changes in dress, toilet matters, cookery, and home matters generally – are as much entitled to receive attention as nine out of ten of the matters which are treated of in the ordinary daily paper. Therefore, two columns are set aside exclusively for ladies.

This section was no place for amateurs. The paper announced that the 'department will be under the direction of a lady who till recently occupied the editorial chair of a leading fashion weekly' – Mary Howarth, later to be the first editor of the *Daily Mirror* – and emphasised that the various subjects under consideration 'will all be treated by experts'. Across the page, a signed article by 'Lady Charlotte' gave a hint of the aristocratic sophistication that would be placed at the reader's disposal. The paper was determined to demonstrate that content aimed at women was not an afterthought but the product of careful editorial consideration. Northcliffe himself displayed a genuine determination that the women's section should be treated as seriously as any other department. He ordered that recipes be checked by his own chef and insisted that articles and stories were accurate and consistent: those he suspected of being casual were, as one trusted journalist observed,

'flayed alive'. As time went on, Northcliffe carried out his own forms of market research to ensure that the women's pages remained relevant and readable: he warned the editor that he had 'fifty women of all classes' giving their opinion of the features. 'Don't be bluffed by journalists with only a men's outlook,' he counselled staff. 'Read the woman's page every day.'

As the initial announcement made clear, the 'woman's world' was defined fairly conservatively, following the tradition of the 19th-century women's magazine. Mrs C.S. Peel, who became editor of the women's page during the First World War, recalled with frustration how *Mail* journalists 'expected women to be interested solely in knitting jumpers, in caring for their complexions, looking after babies, in cooking, in a "good murder" and in silly stories about weddings'. On the other hand, the *Mail* was challenging conceptions of what constituted 'news' and what was 'important' enough to be reported in a morning newspaper. If women's material was as worthy of inclusion as 'nine out of ten matters' that were usually covered, then the conventional place of the 'public sphere' as the location of the 'serious' business of life was brought into question. In practical terms, moreover, it gave women an important foothold in the male-dominated national press, ensuring both a greater visibility and new opportunities to voice their concerns; once the space had been established, more challenging material could, and would, be included. In any case, the value of this fashion and domestic advice should not be dismissed. It proved to be popular with large numbers of female readers, for it engaged with actual interests and concerns in a pragmatic way.

It gave women an important foothold in the male-dominated national press, ensuring them greater visibility

The articles contained in the 'woman's realm' were not the only means by which the *Daily Mail* sought to attract a female audience. The first issue also contained the opening instalment of a fiction serial, directed primarily at women. Northcliffe hoped it would soon encourage wives to remind husbands to bring their paper home. More generally, the reorientation of news values allowed women and 'women's interests' to enter the main body of the paper. Northcliffe sent bulletins to his news editors reminding them to 'look out for feminine topics for the news columns'. One of these editors, Tom Clarke, recalled his proprietor's exhortations: 'Don't forget the women, Tom. Always have one "woman's story" at the top of all the main news pages.' Northcliffe made clear his determination not to return to the time when newspapers were 'written only for men [while] women and their interests were despised'. He urged journalists to consider the news from perspectives other than that of the metropolitan male: 'I think the *Daily Mail* might have had some reference to the great sale week', he told the editor in July 1918, despite the limited space and the mass of war news to fit into the columns. 'The whole feminine population of the village where I am is *en route* for London this morning for the great day.' He praised the paper when it had a 'good wedding exclusive', for these were 'always very valuable to a newspaper so largely read by women'. Female journalists were not always restricted to 'women's issues', though. During the Boer War, the *Mail* enlisted Lady Sarah Wilson, daughter of the Duke of Marlborough and the wife of an officer serving in South Africa, to send dispatches from inside the siege of Mafeking. Lady Sarah has a good claim to be Britain's first female war correspondent and her vivid reporting generated national interest. She helped to pave the way for other female reporters at the paper, such as Margaret Lane, one of the *Mail's* star journalists of the 1930s, and Ann Leslie, a prolific and celebrated foreign correspondent since 1967.

The advertising incentive

Female readers were important not just because they boosted the overall circulation: they had a special economic importance to the newspaper business. Women were the major spenders of the domestic budget and hence the prime targets for advertisers. As newspapers came to rely ever more heavily on the revenue from branded advertising, reaching female readers became a financial necessity. Mrs Peel understood that the whole newspaper enterprise 'depended upon the goodwill of women – for it is women who spend the greater part of men's earnings and so make advertisements pay, and without advertisements no paper can live'. Northcliffe found that advertisements had a circulation value as well. Attempting to lift rather flat early week sales, he offered concessions to department store advertisers and was rewarded by circulation increases. Newsprint rationing during the First World War meant that there was not enough space to include the women's page, so Northcliffe insisted that his advertisement manager give preference to advertisements that appealed to women. 'Drapery advertisements,' he observed, 'are news to them ... Now that we have abolished the women's column, it is more than ever necessary not to neglect this important department'.

The central importance of advertising ensured that the *Mail* was infused with an aspirational atmosphere. Northcliffe was adamant that 'Nine women out of ten would rather read about an evening dress costing a great deal of money – the sort of dress they will never in their lives have a chance of wearing – than about a simple frock such as they could afford.' Such attitudes encouraged the continued expansion of celebrity journalism across the century. The desire to attract advertising also encouraged the introduction of *Daily Mail*-branded events. The most notable of these was the *Daily Mail*'s Ideal Home Exhibition, still flourishing today. The exhibition was first held in 1908, initially as a publicity stunt and a new means of securing advertising. Northcliffe himself initially disliked intensely what he regarded as a 'sideshow', but reluctantly accepted its commercial value. After the First World War he gradually came to appreciate its worth as a source of features about developments in the home. Henceforth, the *Mail* publicised the exhibition extensively in its pages and championed the idea of remodelling domestic life to make it suitable for the modern age.

Gender stereotypes

Northcliffe's forward thinking with regard to the female market was tempered by what one of his journalists described as 'an old-fashioned doubt' as to whether women were

'really the equals of men'. He continued to view women as being largely defined by their roles as wives and mothers and the 'women's material' for his papers was produced on these terms. He was also happy to exploit female glamour and sexuality. 'I have no use for a man who cannot appreciate a pretty ankle', Northcliffe told Tom Clarke. In his bulletins to the *Mail* he frequently reminded his staff of the need to display glamorous women and he was critical when his picture editor picked out what he regarded as 'common-looking ugly wenches'. When a photograph of Polish women soldiers appeared in August 1920 he was furious: 'Pictures of attractive English ladies would have been much more to the point. I am almost weary of repeating this.'

Sceptical of suffragettes

Northcliffe was sceptical about the need for female suffrage and such scepticism was reproduced in the columns of the *Mail*. The paper coined the term 'suffragette' as a derogatory label for women prepared to use violence in their campaign for the vote and it argued that their 'antics' were alienating public opinion. This opposition to female enfranchisement eventually crumbled as a result of women's committed service on the Home Front during the First World War. Although the *Mail* generally embraced the expansion of women's roles after 1918, Lord Rothermere – Northcliffe's brother, who assumed ownership of the paper after the founder's death in 1922 – was so concerned about the prospect of young women voting for the Labour party that he insisted the *Mail* vociferously oppose the Baldwin government's proposal to equalise the franchise at 21 (in 1918 only women over 30 were granted the vote). Daily headlines implored the government to 'Stop the Flapper Vote Folly'; the measure was censured as 'worthy of Bedlam' and, if passed, the *Mail* warned darkly that it 'may bring down the British Empire in ruins'. The *Mail's* opposition achieved little other than to show its continued anxieties about women's roles.

Such ambivalence about gender has remained characteristic of the *Mail*. The paper has continued to have greater success in attracting female readers than most of its rivals, largely due to its skill in appealing to the section of the market hungry for lifestyle and celebrity features. In 1936 it introduced a problem column, Ann Temple's 'Human Case-Book', which generated considerable interest. Temple admitted that she was 'absolutely astounded' by the volume of post she received in response to her first column. When the social research organisation Mass-Observation investigated the national press in 1948, it found that Temple received 'warmer tributes than perhaps any other feature writer encountered' in the survey. This popularity was achieved despite Temple's fairly stern sense of morality: she tried to make a stand against what she saw as a damaging creed of 'self-first' and the associated change 'from respect for marriage into the belief that love matters more than marriage'. The women's section was once again revitalised in 1969 by the arrival of Shirley Conran, author of the best-selling *Superwoman*, and its rebranding as 'Femail'. These changes were consolidated in 1971 when Vere Harmsworth (who had recently taken over as Chair of Associated Newspapers) and new editor David English, relaunched the *Mail* as a tabloid. Harmsworth captured the spirit of Northcliffe when he insisted that 'We have to direct ourselves to women', providing 'a news coverage that women want to read'. English and his successor, Paul Dacre, followed this advice closely and invested heavily in the pages aimed primarily at the female audience.

Feminist values

The *Daily Mail* has been consistently sceptical in its coverage of organised feminism. Outspoken columnists such as Lynda Lee-Potter blamed the women's movement for many of the ills of modern society. Many women have felt that the flipside of the *Mail*'s staunch defence of 'family values' has been a critical approach to women who combine motherhood with a career. Others have pointed to the way the paper has scrutinised the female body and sneered at imperfections. A characteristic article from March 2003, for example, revealed the 'swimsuit age' of stars snapped on the beach. Thirty-year-old pop star Mariah Carey was given a 'swimsuit age' of 45 because she had 'let herself go' and displayed 'chunky thighs'. Sailor Ellen MacArthur, meanwhile, 'may be fit but her body is chunky. She hasn't had children yet, but already looks rather matronly'. Criticism has been easy to brush off while the *Mail*'s tried-and-trusted formula remains appealing to a sufficient number of readers. Indeed, the enormous global popularity of *Mail Online*, the newspaper's website, suggests that the formula is as successful today as it has ever been.

The Daily Mail, MONDAY, MAY 4 1936.

BIRTHDAY SUPPLEMENT

In 1896—a Discovery . . .

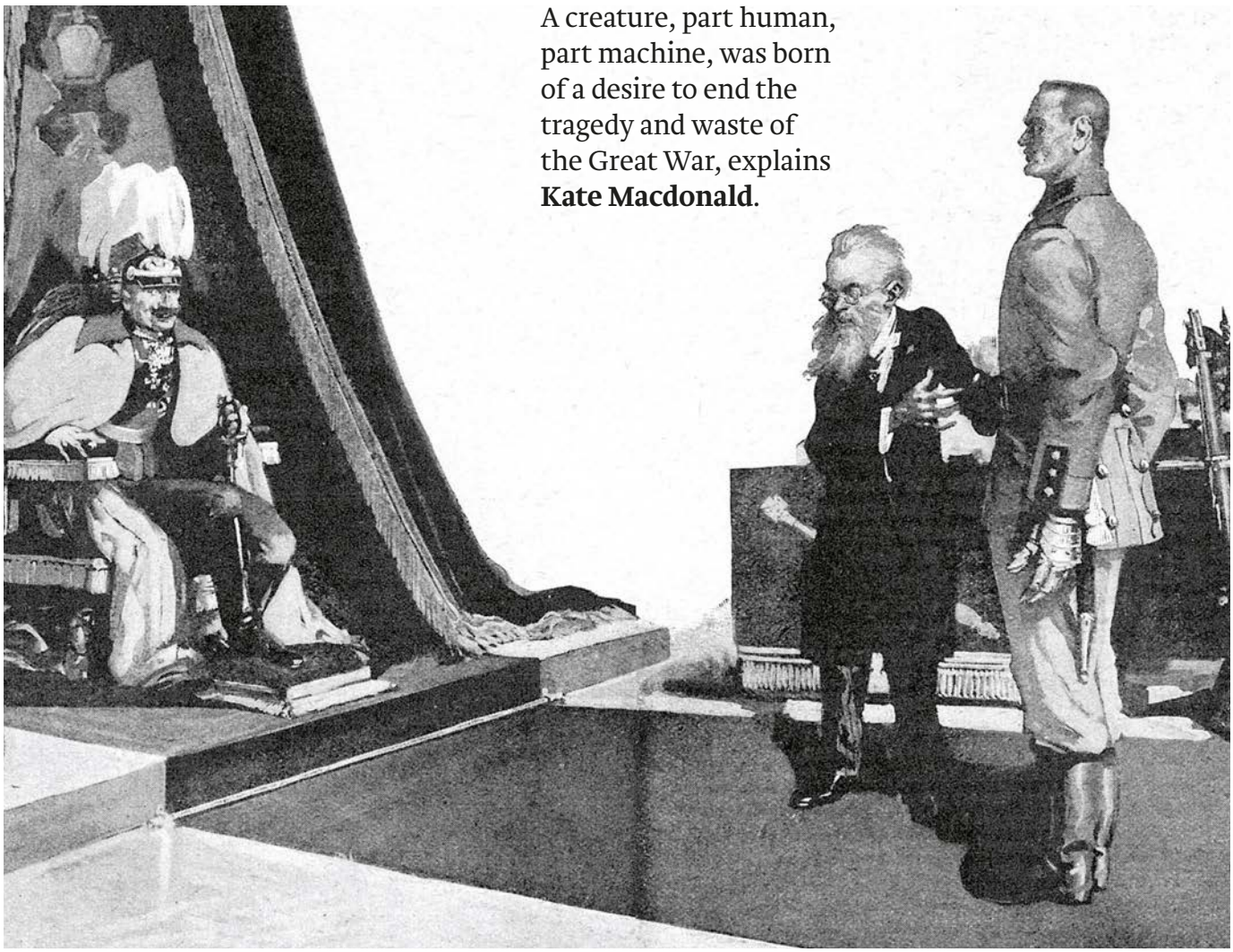
WOMEN ARE NEWS TOO

by Margaret Lane

"A serviceable and smart frock in blue navy serge trimmed with bronze and blue cords." Jan. 5, 1904.

Mail and female: the women's section of the *Daily Mail* on its 40th anniversary, 1936.

Adrian Bingham is Reader in Modern History at the University of Sheffield.



A creature, part human, part machine, was born of a desire to end the tragedy and waste of the Great War, explains **Kate Macdonald**.

The First Cyborg

POWERFUL STORY BY JOSEPH CONRAD
FRY'S COCOA
The Strength Developer.
THE STRAND MAGAZINE
"BLOOD and IRON"
THE FATE OF THE KAISER
The Most Grim and Terrible Dramatic Scene Ever Written
You can send this Magazine Post Free to the Troops.
OCTOBER, 1917.

Above: 'You ask me, your majesty, if he is efficient. I reply, more efficient than before he fell in battle'. Illustration from *Blood and Iron*. Right: the *Strand Magazine* of October 1917.

CREATED FROM the bodies of war-wounded soldiers for an unnamed emperor, the first modern cyborg, Soldier 241, appears in a one-act play, *Blood and Iron*, published in the *Strand Magazine* in October 1917. Like the invention of the robot three years later in 1920, the cyborg was a product of modern warfare. It was also a rare anti-war statement, challenging British law as, to prevent war continuing, Soldier 241 kills his commanding officer at the end. This remarkable work has been available to casual browsers through back issues of the *Strand* for nearly a century and it is listed on at least two collectors' websites and John Clute's online *SF Encyclopaedia*. Coincidentally, this issue of the *Strand* is available for open access viewing on a website of digitised newspapers and magazines, which also contain the first publication of works by Joseph Conrad (conradfirst.net), yet it has never been properly studied before. New research reveals

that its remarkable anti-war message, delivered just after the entry of the United States into the First World War, is a reflection of public anguish. Huge numbers of men were returning from the Western Front with permanent, debilitating injuries and the public were getting nervous about the speed of unstoppable wartime scientific advances: chlorine gas in 1915, the tank in 1916 and unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917.

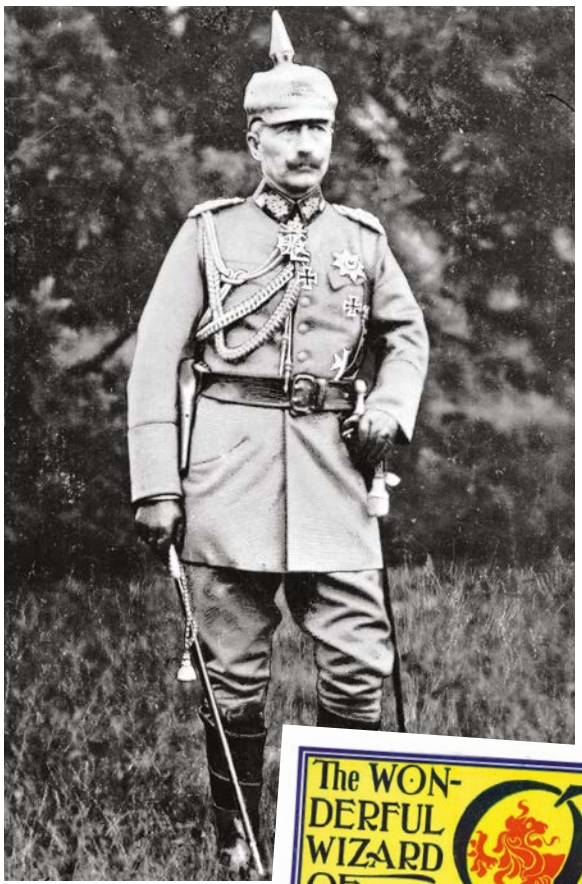
SOLDIER 241 is 'fifty per cent human, fifty per cent machine', with enhanced physical capabilities. He was made using 'a million cripples', who are now 'transformed into a million fighting units'. He has artificial body parts, super-strength hands, telescopic eyes and gold teeth, all the better to bite barbed wire with. He was a nightmare vision of how war-damaged soldiers could be restored to complete fighting capability: 'From a shattered bleeding wreck of no value to humanity I have made him into an efficient man', says his creator, the Scientist. His repellent attitudes to disabled servicemen nonetheless produce a sympathetic character, the first cyborg in modern culture, whose lineage would reappear in the *Terminator* films by James Cameron from 1984 and Imperator Furiosa, from the 2015 film, *Mad Max: Fury Road*.

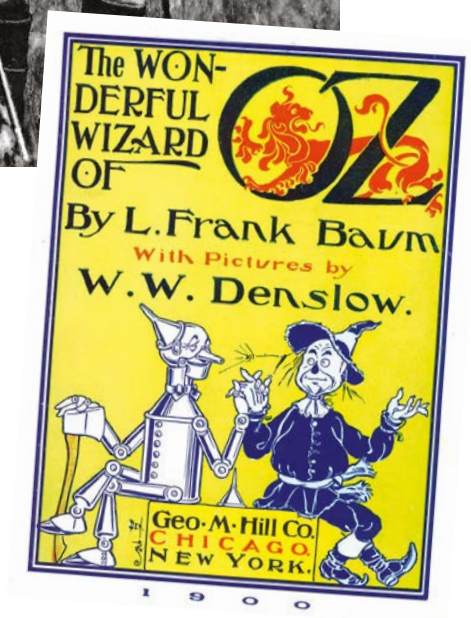
The term 'cybernetic organism', abbreviated soon after to 'cyborg', was invented by the scientists Manfred Clynes and Nathan S. Kline in 1960. A cyborg is not an automated, mechanical figure but a human who has been enhanced with artificial mechanisms to be stronger and faster. The Six Million Dollar Man and the Bionic Woman were a 1970s' television vision of cyborgs as militarised secret agents. In *Blood and Iron*, Soldier 241 is much more crudely and explicitly mechanised, moving awkwardly, yet he, too, is under military orders. He is also no longer simply human. Like an automaton, 'his speech is laboured', yet Soldier 241 is an intelligent, reasoning individual, using biblical quotations to show the Emperor the immorality of war. He is also a humanitarian: he tells the Emperor that women are lonely due to the absence of their husbands and sons at the front and that the people are starving.

Soldier 241 in an Illustration by Steven Spurrier from the *Strand Magazine*.

THE HUMAN APPEAL of Soldier 241 contrasts with horrific images of industrial dehumanisation. The Scientist who created him speaks callously of soldiers lying on battlegrounds: 'Our problem was to eliminate the waste represented by the wounded.' The Scientist disregards human suffering when assessing military capacity: 'I estimate the restoration of five army corps now immobilised because of missing arms and legs, deafened ears and blinded eyes.' These details of damaged bodies and phrases like 'shattered bleeding wreck' and 'the fragment of a soldier' are highly emotive, repelling the reader from the Scientist's perspective. This is a ghoulish melodrama with a message, but how did it manage to make it into print during the war, when censorship crushed most opportunities for pacifist propaganda?

Blood and Iron had two authors: Robert H. Davis, about whom little is known, and Perley Poore Sheehan, a California journalist, who began publishing short stories in pulp and adventure magazines in 1911 and went on to write novels and screenplays for silent movies. He had a number of scripts produced before the publication of *Blood and Iron* and his biggest success would be the screenplay for *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, the 1923 film starring Lon Chaney. In both this film and *Blood and Iron* we see Sheehan's fascination with the monstrous and with the moral courage of the persecuted and misunderstood.





Left: Kaiser Wilhelm II, 1915. Below: title page of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, 1900.

Below: Edgar Norton, Boris Karloff, Basil Rathbone and Bela Lugosi in *Son of Frankenstein*, 1939.

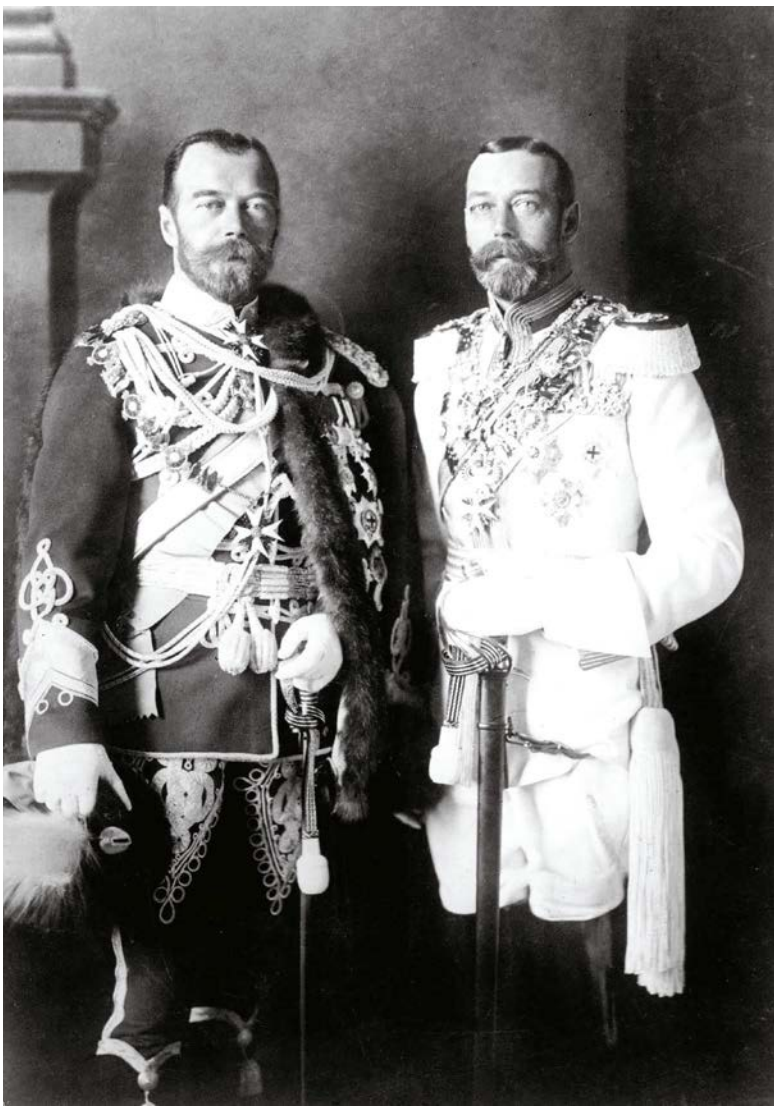
Soldier 241 is an intelligent, reasoning individual, using biblical quotations to show the Emperor the immorality of war

Blood and Iron was first published in August 1917 in the US fiction periodical *McClure's Magazine* under the title 'Efficiency'. It is probable that Sheehan and Davis sold the play to the *Strand Magazine* in the UK after (and possibly because) it had been bought for US publication in *McClure's*. The title of the play was undoubtedly changed for copyright purposes, but the texts of both are near-identical. It was reprinted in 1917 as a chapbook containing 'An Appreciation' by former US President Theodore Roosevelt, a fervent supporter of America's entry into the war.

We do not know when the play was written but the timing of its publication must be linked to the US declaration of war. Historian Jonathan Arnold writes that, 'on just one day, Tuesday 5 June 1917, 9,660,000 young men presented themselves for registration. On 20 July a national lottery was held to select from these registrants the first batch of 687,000 who would actually join the army'. The willingness of *McClure's* and the *Strand* to print this play when so many young US citizens were going to war suggests that they felt the public mood would accept it and that it would do their sales no harm.

THE *STRAND* commissioned the British war artist Steven Spurrier to illustrate the play with anti-German propaganda. Spurrier and T.D. Skidmore, who was working a few weeks ahead of him on the *McClure's* illustrations, slanted the anti-war message of the play against Kaiser Wilhelm by reproducing the familiar image of the German emperor. The original description of the Kaiser in the play sends up the elaborate imperial costume worn in European courts but makes no allusion to Wilhelm's distinctive characteristics – his short stature, his moustaches, his impaired arm – which were well-known from contemporary photographs and wartime cartoons. In contrast, Spurrier's illustration shows the moustachioed Emperor enthroned in a military cloak and feathered parade helmet. It is clear which European royal this illustration suggests: only the Kaiser wore a moustache with the distinctive turned-up Prussian ends. His cousins Tsar Nicholas and George V wore naval beards with a less exuberant moustache.

British publishing was tightly controlled by legislation during the First World War. The Defence of the Realm Acts (DORA) of August and November 1914 prevented the publication of anything in mass-market print that might damage morale. DORA gave the government unlimited power to control what was published and how it was transmitted. 'Likely to cause disaffection' was the key phrase in the Act, which could be applied to anything written or expressed.



Nicholas II (left) and George V in Berlin, 1913.

Under the influence of the Act, the Press Bureau exercised censorship in Britain, suppressing information as well as propagating misleading or false information. It issued 700 sets of instructions to editors. The historian of the Home Front, Cate Haste, reports that the Bureau 'was asked to admonish individual editors for indiscreet publications as often as three times a week'. Fiction magazines also had to avoid non-compliance with the Acts, by paying close attention to the content and illustrations of the stories they published. In the case of *Blood and Iron,* it would seem that the *Strand* actively encouraged an anti-German presentation of this play – a common line to take in wartime – to avoid a legal charge of the play's anti-war message causing 'disaffection'. In the British wartime periodicals market, of which fiction magazines constituted approximately one fifth, titles were closing down every month and in 1917 this process was accelerated by paper shortages. The *Strand*'s editor would not publish anything that might risk sales or the eye of the law.

Stories published in British fiction magazines directly addressing the situation of the war-impaired serviceman reached a peak in 1916 that was maintained into the following year. In *Blood and Iron* Sheehan and Davis manipulate the reader against the play's repellent scientist to produce a positive effect. Instead of agreeing that war-damaged servicemen 'would today be rotting on the field – a source of pestilence – a worthless thing', the reader reacts against this ghastly vision to feel that there must be more done for servicemen impaired by war. To call a war-damaged soldier a 'shattered bleeding wreck' or 'the fragment of a soldier' is not only inhuman, but also unpatriotic. This message counters the possibility that the drama's anti-war message might 'cause disaffection' with the conflict. The praise and support of wounded servicemen redirected the readers' attention away from whether the war should continue – a controversial pacifist message – to what could be done for the men returning from war with serious permanent impairments.

In *Blood and Iron* Soldier 241 has an artificial left leg, two artificial hands, an artificial right forearm and elbow, an artificial left eye converted into a telescope, an artificial left ear and replacement gold teeth. Missing legs and arms were the most frequently deployed impairments in fiction during the war; the 1918 report of Colonel Sir Robert Jones, Inspector of Military Orthopaedics for the Army Medical Service, shows that 50 per cent of the surgical work done for servicemen was for limb damage or loss. Sheehan and Davis were reflecting medical fact as well as a cultural norm. Were they also reflecting a popular fear of science?

There is a powerful conflict between humanitarian concerns and the utilitarian use of technology in this play: they cannot co-exist. What underlies this fear and mistrust of science? Before the war, the most well-known British novelist to write about science and its influence on the modern world was H.G. Wells. His novel *The Island of Dr Moreau* (1896) creates post-human people and animals through surgery and cross-breeding in a story designed to shock. It was to prove a major influence on the science fiction genre. The last novel in C.S. Lewis' science fiction trilogy, *That Hideous Strength* (1945), and Lindsay Anderson's film *O Lucky Man* (1973), both use animal-human hybrids to horrible effect. In 1903 Wells' influential short story 'The Land Ironclads' anticipates the First World War tank: unstoppable and aggressive, impossible to harm or damage unless countered by similar weaponry. He was articulating an arms race that was already 20 years old as the First World War began.

Sheehan and Davis produced an early imaginative leap forward in the history of science fiction to explore how

To call a war-damaged serviceman a 'shattered bleeding wreck' or 'the fragment of a soldier' is not only inhuman, but also unpatriotic

Top: Charlize Theron as Imperator Furiosa in *Mad Max: Fury Road*, 2015. Above: Lee Majors and Lindsay Wagner as the Six Million Dollar Man and the Bionic Woman, 1970s.

the human body could itself become a weapon rather than relying on the weapons it carried. Yet there is something deeply repellent in the utilitarian thinking of *Blood and Iron* that posits a mechanised soldier made out of body parts, not least because of the damaged soldiers within the story who have been 'harvested', and abandoned, presumably dead. Was such thinking widespread during the First World War? Or was it artistic hyperbole?

The influence of Mary Shelley's novel *Frankenstein* (1818) is clear in *Blood and Iron*, but Shelley's Creature was completely human, albeit constructed of many human parts. The eponymous character of Edgar Allen Poe's darkly comic story 'The Man Who Was Used Up' (1839), like Soldier 241, is also six feet tall, a military veteran who consists almost entirely of prosthetics rather than mechanical enhancement. He is essentially a humorous creation, in the spirit of Mrs Skewton and Captain Cuttle in Dickens' *Dombey and Son* (1846-8). The Tin Man of Frank L. Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900) is technically a cyborg, since he is composed of human and metal parts, but there is nothing of the machine about him, nor are his capacities artificially enhanced: they are merely replaced.

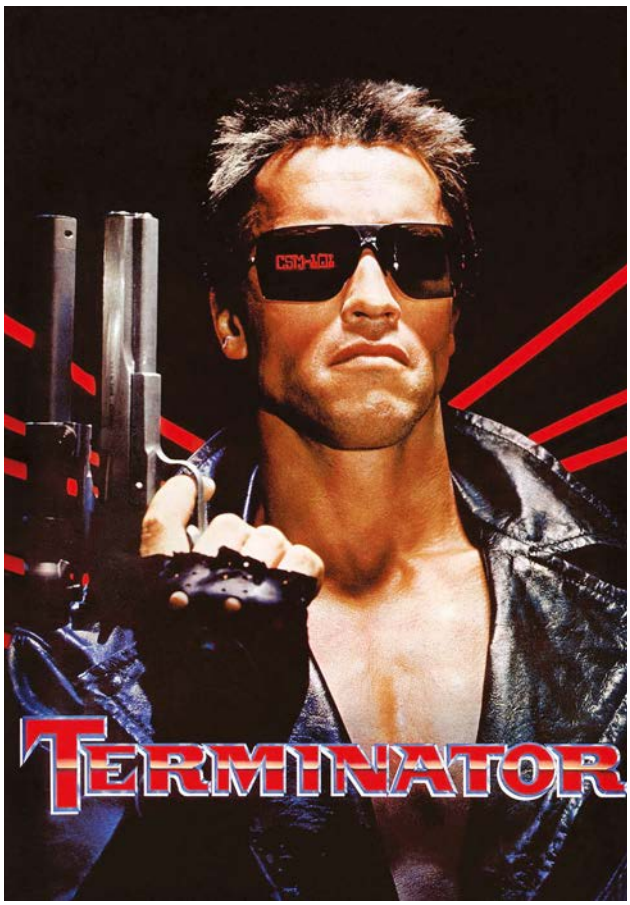
After the First World War, two further plays brought the idea of machines and the human closer together. Karl Čapek's *RUR: Rossum's Universal Robots* (1920) invented the word 'robot'. The art historian Christine Poggi claims that Ruggero Vasari's *Angoscia delle Macchine (*The Anguish of the Machines, 1923) 'exemplifies the growing ambivalence towards the machine in the 1920s'. The appearance of a cyborg and two robots in three plays within six years of each other, all emerging from the Great War, is too closely connected to be coincidence. Their authors clearly shared a need to prove their conceptions visually and the shock of the new needed to be experienced by a paying audience to be believed.

A DECADE LATER, the idea of the cyborg as a man enhanced by technology appeared in Olaf Stapledon's novel *Last and First Men* (1930), which is usually held to be its first appearance in classic science fiction. C.L. Moore was the first author to write in 1944 about a female cyborg. Many subsequent novels, stories, TV series and films have featured cyborgs, epitomised in its military application by the Terminator. Soldier 241 is important in this lineage, not just because he is the earliest true cyborg, but because he is a product of the political, ethical and technological crucible of the First World War, truly the first conflict of modernity in all its industrial and technological aspects. It is generally accepted that the Second World War prompted the first advances in cybernetics, yet Sheehan and Davis' Soldier 241 pulls the birth of the cyborg back by 25 years. Soldier 241's revolutionary physical enhancement is not only in bodily strength and function, but in moral strength as well. What was it about the First World War that saw the evolution of the cyborg out of industrial- scale mechanised warfare?

According to the historian Jennifer Gonzalez:

The image of the cyborg has historically recurred at moments of radical social and historical change … imaginary representations of cyborgs take over when traditional bodies fail … The cyborg body thus becomes the historical record of changes in human perception.

This new way of thinking about the modern cyborg stops us classifying the cyborg as a machine that has somehow acquired humanity. Instead, we recognise the cyborg as a human being with enhanced power and capabilities. It is also capable of imagining our future for us. From 1917 it would be sent into fiction to act out new ideologies, tell new stories and sort out ethical dilemmas. The cyborg makes a space for us to imagine the impossible.



***Terminator*, 1984, with Arnold Schwarzenegger as an android with cyborg friends and enemies.**

PROFESSOR ELANA GOMEL of Tel Aviv University argues that scientific development always requires:

A new conceptual map for ethical judgment. The contours of this map may be seen to emerge in works of science fiction, which not only vividly dramatise the implications and consequences of new technologies and discoveries but also exert a powerful influence on culture, creating a feedback loop of images and ideas.

Going back to my suggestion that *Blood and Iron* is an anti-war parable, we can consider it as a direct response to war: not just to the appalling waste of human life and bodies in war, but also to the technologies that were proliferating to keep the war going. *Blood and Iron* dramatises the implications and consequences of new technologies and discoveries for the reader to feel the consequences in ethical human terms, separate from politics and military strategy.

We should also ask whether the cyborg was created as a servant or a toy and whether it is an autonomous social agent. In the context of war, whose side is the cyborg on? Is it on the side of humans or that of the machines? It seems clear that Soldier 241 has many metaphorical uses. He is a nightmare, a hope, the future, the present and the past. As a cyborg he embraces all future possibilities. He holds up a moral standard to say 'thus far and no further': he is the policeman holding up the stop sign. But is he the law?

Donna Haraway, Professor Emerita at the University of California, Santa Cruz and the first person to study cyborgs as an alternate to animals and humans, shows that the cyborg is a representative of the oppressed. Feminist

Soldier 241 has many metaphorical uses. He is a nightmare, a hope, the future, the present and the past. He holds up a moral standard to say 'thus far and no further'

science fiction has long used the cyborg to explore issues of difference, since super-powerful cyborgs in science fiction make the condition of simply being a weak human rather inadequate. None of these challenging ideas could have been conceivable in the culture of 1917. But the readers of *McClure's* and the *Strand* could readily accept a cyborg in a vision of a possible future, given the remarkable scientific leaps forward that were already becoming normalised by the technological requirements of the war machine, in both surgery and weaponry.

Blood and Iron, this short and forgotten piece of propagandist entertainment, asks its readers to imagine a super-enhanced military weapon who can also feel empathy and refuse to engage in warfare. Soldier 241 has been made into what the Scientist calls 'an efficient man', displaying more humanity than his creators because he is humanity, made of the war-impaired bodies of men who could do no more. He reflects a pacifist political zeitgeist that the authorities did not want to acknowledge and for whose suppression the Defence of the Realm Act was first passed in August 1914. As for the play's representation of disabled servicemen, it may not be too much of an exaggeration to suggest that, in his powerful wholeness and his resolution to prevent the continuation of war, this cyborg embodies what the masses of magazine fiction readers might have felt and want: to end the war now. He exemplifies both a major change in human perception and an acknowledgement of anti-war impulses during one of the most catastrophic wars in history.

Kate MacDonald is Visiting Fellow in the Department of English Literature at the University of Reading.

FURTHER READING

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Out of the Margins

Gaps in our knowledge of the past can be frustrating, but occasional speculation about what we know to be absent is not always a bad thing, suggests **Eleanor Parker**.

'LOST LITERATURE' is an evocative phrase. One of the books which first sparked my interest in medieval literature as an undergraduate was R.M. Wilson's 1970 study *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*. This wide-ranging book – as intriguing as ever, although dated in places now – gathers together evidence for English texts, manuscripts and legends from the medieval period that no longer survive. It lists many tantalising hints of stories lost to us, including brief allusions to heroes like Wade and Sceaf, books mentioned in the medieval catalogues of now dispersed monastic libraries, or scraps of quotations from lost poems.

Not all such references in medieval literature can be taken at face value; scholars are not as ready as they used to be to assume the existence of a lost source behind every medieval text. Even so, these kinds of references can be an important reminder of the potentially huge gaps in our knowledge. It is always sobering to recall that had the manuscript of *Beowulf* been lost, for instance, we would have no idea such a poem ever existed.

Particularly fascinating to me is a cryptic remark in the *Gesta Herwardi*, a 12th-century Latin prose text about the adventures of the English rebel Hereward. The subject of various legends, Hereward is most famous for resisting Norman rule in the area around Ely, in Cambridgeshire, in the 1080s. He is still a popular local hero and his best-known exploits involve his time as an outlaw; he was a proto-Robin Hood, hiding out in the Fens and tricking Norman lords with his ingenious schemes.

In addition to these stories, the *Gesta Herwardi* credits Hereward with a whole array of youthful adventures, which the author seems to have drawn freely from romances and legends of English, Norman and Scandinavian origin. As a young man Hereward travels widely: he defeats a semi-human bear in the north, rescues a princess in Cornwall and fights as a mercenary in Ireland and Flanders before coming home to Lincolnshire to find his lands under Norman control.

The author of the *Gesta* knew the area where Hereward lived and claims to have met some of his companions. Like Robin Hood, Hereward had a gang of outlaws to share his adventures and the *Gesta* lists their names and adds short comments on some of their exploits. Among them is Hereward's nephew, Gille, who the *Gesta* notes was nicknamed Godwine Gille 'because he was not inferior to the Godwine, son of Guthlac, who was greatly celebrated in the tales of the ancients'.

It is sobering to recall that had the manuscript of* Beowulf *been lost, we would have no idea such a poem ever existed

This is a puzzling aside. Who was this Godwine, son of Guthlac, and why was he celebrated? The *Gesta* gives no further details. Godwine is a very common Anglo-Saxon name and neither Hereward's nephew nor his apparently famous namesake can now be identified.

Fighting in the Fens: Hereward cutting his way through the Norman host, by James Cooper, 19th century.

The name Guthlac might suggest a link to the great Lincolnshire saint Guthlac, who lived in the same region as Hereward four centuries earlier. St Guthlac, who was born into a Mercian family, gave up the life of a warrior to become a hermit in the Fens at Crowland. He is the subject of two Old English poems, among other texts, and an abbey was founded at Crowland that preserved his memory.

The earliest account of St Guthlac's life, written around 730-40, says that he was named for a tribe called the Guthlacingas and that, as a young warrior, he knew tales of 'valiant deeds of heroes of old', including his own ancestors. Was there a story about a hero called Godwine, son of Guthlac, who was remembered in the area around Crowland? Did tales about him inspire both the young St Guthlac and Hereward's companions, centuries apart? Maybe this Godwine was the subject of a poem, or just a local legend; we shall probably never know.

In studying the past it is usually more useful to try to understand the sources we have rather than speculating about the lost and the absent. But every now and then it can be rewarding to let the imagination explore such possibilities. If nothing else, it helps us to value what has survived, a reminder that, when dealing with the medieval period, we are often at the mercy of a process of accidental survival. In the *Gesta Herwardi* we may have a hint of the lost literature of medieval Lincolnshire – the stories people were telling in the Fens, 900 years ago.

Eleanor Parker is a medievalist and writes a blog at aclerkofoxford.blogspot.co.uk.

Æthelred the UNREADY

Simon Keynes argues that the reign of the famously incompetent king, who died in London a thousand years ago, is in need of reappraisal.

It is always a temptation to a rich and lazy nation
To puff and look important and to say:-
'Though we know we should defeat you, we have not the time to meet you.
We will therefore pay you cash to go away.'

And that is called paying the Dane-geld;
But we've proved it again and again,
That if once you have paid him the Dane-geld
You never get rid of the Dane.

Rudyard Kipling, *The Dane-Geld* (1911)

IN A SPEECH to the House of Commons on October 5th, 1938, Winston Churchill likened the policy of appeasement adopted by Neville Chamberlain's government to that of Æthelred the Unready towards the Vikings. Churchill was not the first to exploit Æthelred's poor reputation, nor would he be the last. But is such a judgment of his reign (978-1013 and 1014-16) unduly harsh? A reassessment is due.

We owe most of our knowledge of Æthelred to the account of his reign in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which details each year's notable events. The anonymous chronicler (probably a cleric, writing in the immediate aftermath of the Danish conquest of England) lamented the inability of the English to withstand the Viking invasions that took place between 991 and 1016. The account of the reign, injected with attitude and suffused with sorrow, is a fine example of narrative prose in the vernacular. It was developed further by the Anglo-Norman historians of the late 11th and early 12th centuries, who were eager to construct a positive perception of the Anglo-Saxon past, which would serve purposes of their own, but who also needed to demonstrate why the English had brought conquest upon themselves. Perhaps it was already in the 11th century that the king came to be called 'Æthelræd unræd' – a clever combination of the literal meaning of the separate elements of his own name, Æthelred (meaning 'noble-counsel'), with the noun *unræd* ('an ill-considered or treacherous plan'). Clearly, there was intended irony in the association between the two and, as the king's reputation went from bad to worse, the name stabilised as Æthelred 'the Unready'. The decline of Æthelred's reputation reached its nadir in the sweeping histories of England of the 18th and 19th centuries. By the middle of the 20th century the verdict was clear. Sir John Lloyd, in the early 1920s, described Æthelred's reign as 'possibly the most miserable which the country has ever endured', which was saying a lot at that time. Sir Frank Stenton, in the early 1940s, took the view that Æthelred himself was 'a king of singular incompetence', during a period when strong leadership was ▶

Opposite: *Paying Danegeld*, by Richard Caton Woodville, 1922. Below: *The Massacre of St Brice's Day, 1002*, by Alfred Pearse, 1922.

The Coinage of Æthelred

The changing designs, with obverse (front) on the left, suggest how the prevailing mood changed during his reign.

c.980
The hand of God and the presence of Christ (A w), just visible, signify divine approval in the early years of Æthelred's reign.

Hand of God

(Front) (Reverse)

c.990
A new design retains the explicit emphasis on divine presence.

Crux

(Front) (Reverse)

c.997
The adoption of a striking portrait, modelled on a coin-type from imperial Rome, reflects growing confidence in the king.

Long Cross

(Front) (Reverse)

c.1003
Another portrait modelled on a coin-type from imperial Rome, but presenting a more warlike aspect.

Helmet

(Front) (Reverse)

c.1009
In tumultuous times at the end of Æthelred's reign, the Small Cross design recalls the peace and stability of Edgar's reign.

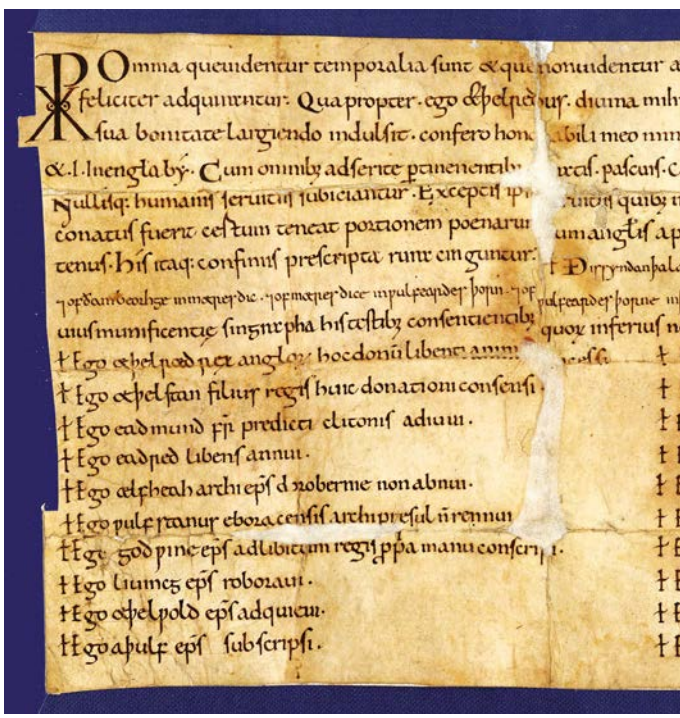
Small Cross

(Front) (Reverse)

required. Æthelred will always be remembered for his policy of paying off the Vikings with 'Danegeld' (991 onwards), for ordering the 'Massacre of St Brice's Day' (1002) and as one who 'was never ready when the Danes were' (*1066 and All That*). Yet much more can be discovered about his reign than is apparent from the *Chronicle*.

The challenge faced by the modern historian of Æthelred is to escape from the influence of the traditional story; to focus attention on other available forms of evidence; and to reach an understanding in which the traditional narrative takes its place as just one part of a more complicated picture. One has to dispense immediately with the idea that an explanation might be found in the personal qualities of the king, which remain unknown. It is more profitable to look at the actions of the king and his councillors at the assemblies that took place four or five times each year, during the major festivals and on other occasions. No doubt the king played his part, but so, too, did archbishops, bishops and abbots, not to mention ealdormen and thegns.

As well as providing ample opportunity for entertainment and intrigue, assemblies were occasions for meaningful ceremony and serious business, including appointments, law-making, the settlement of disputes and grants of land. Among Æthelred's surviving law codes are some which illustrate how he and those around him strove to impose order on the English and Anglo-Danish elements of the population and to regulate commercial transactions. There are others which illustrate the contemporary response to the threat of Viking attack. The charters, or royal diplomas, issued on such occasions were no less significant. Of the surviving 130 texts, most represent straightforward grants of land by the king to an ealdorman or a thegn, attested by the assembled company. Others arose from more complex circumstances, giving details of the forfeiture of the land into the king's hands or confirming the entitlement of a religious house to lands and privileges that had been lost.



Every one of them represents an act of the king and his councillors, providing a view of business conducted at royal assemblies from the beginning to the end of Æthelred's reign. None of this, it appears, made good copy for the chroniclers, but when all is brought together we come closer to an understanding of Æthelred's reign in which familiar events unfold in combination with a narrative of a very different kind.

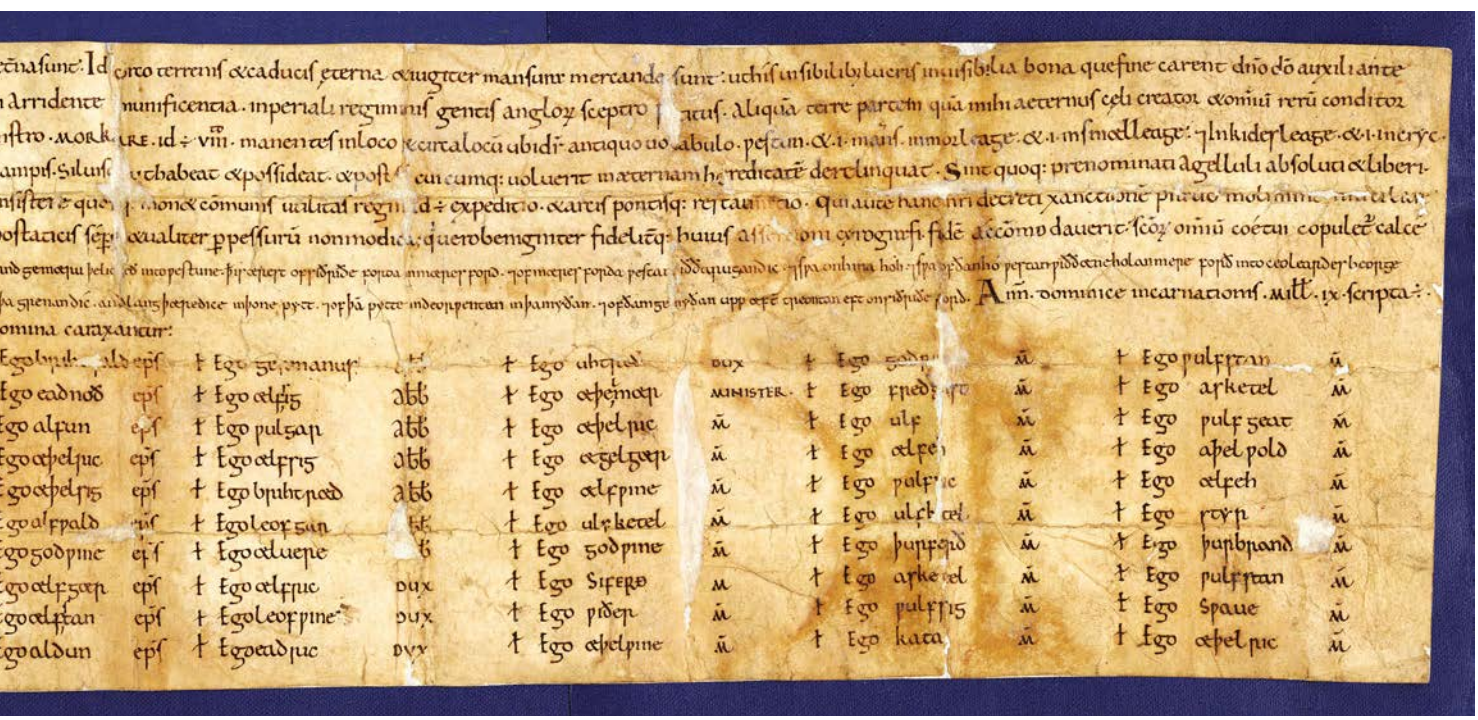
ANOTHER MATTER likely to have been on the agenda at royal assemblies was the management of the coinage. Æthelred's coins survive in large quantities because so many of them were exported as part of the tribute-money (*gafol*) paid to Viking armies between 991 and 1018, or as part of the 'army-tax' (*heregeld*) paid to a standing mercenary force from 1012 to 1051. Accordingly, many thousands of specimens are held in the royal or national collections in Copenhagen, Oslo and Stockholm. It has long been recognised that the coinage as a whole, struck at about 80 minting places (large and small) across the country, has much to reveal about the wealth that had attracted the Vikings to England in the first place. The coinage in general has come to be recognised as the surviving product of a monetary system that must rate as one of the most impressive aspects of Anglo-Saxon royal government.

The basic principles were established as part of King Edgar's reform of the coinage in the early 970s; yet what is powerful evidence, for Edgar, of the re-establishment of a unified kingdom of the English becomes even more compelling evidence, for Æthelred, of the ability of those working for him to develop and to maintain an operation of almost unimaginable complexity for its time. The variation in obverse and reverse (or, front and back) design from one type of coin to the next was a necessary part of the process whereby coins of a current type were recalled from circulation and exchanged for coins of a new type, enabling the authorities to maintain control of the economy for purposes of their own. We need not doubt, at the same time, that the designs were of significance in themselves and have their own story to tell.

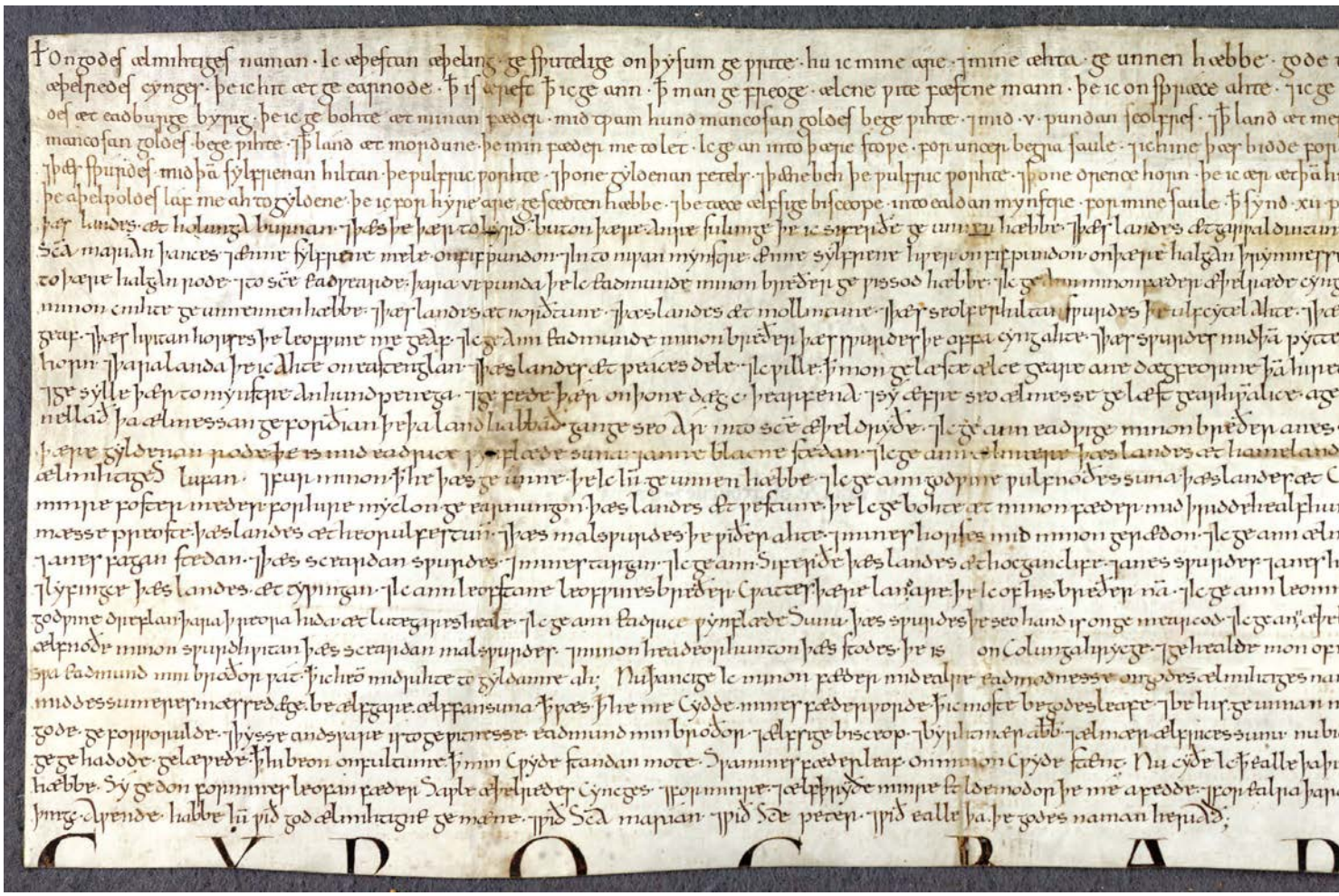
The king's name, portrait and royal style (the title he was given, e.g., 'king of the English'), on the obverse, were complemented by the name of the moneyer and the mint that had made it, along with a Christian design or motif, on the reverse: coins associated with Edgar's reform, for example, bore a small cross. The earliest of the types introduced in Æthelred's reign, around 980, featured the Hand of God issuing from a cloud, with 'Alpha' and 'Omega',

Æthelred will always be remembered as 'never ready when the Danes were' (1066 and All That). Yet it may be that the king himself deserves a break.

a symbol of Christ, to each side, perhaps to signify the bestowal of divine approval on the young king. A significant change came in the late 980s with the introduction of a reverse design featuring the letters C-R-U-X (Latin 'cross') around a cross, perhaps with an intended message of a different kind, although we do not know what. For the 'Long Cross' and 'Helmet' coins, introduced around 997 and 1003, the emphasis was more clearly on the king's portrait, initially bare-headed and then helmeted. Both 'portraits' were inspired by Roman prototypes, perhaps reflecting a growing confidence in the king himself. 'Helmet' was followed by the remarkable but short-lived *Agnus Dei* type, in which the king's portrait was replaced by the Lamb of God and the cruciform design on the reverse by a dove, symbol of the ▶



Diploma, in which Æthelred donates land to his thegn, Morcar, 1009.

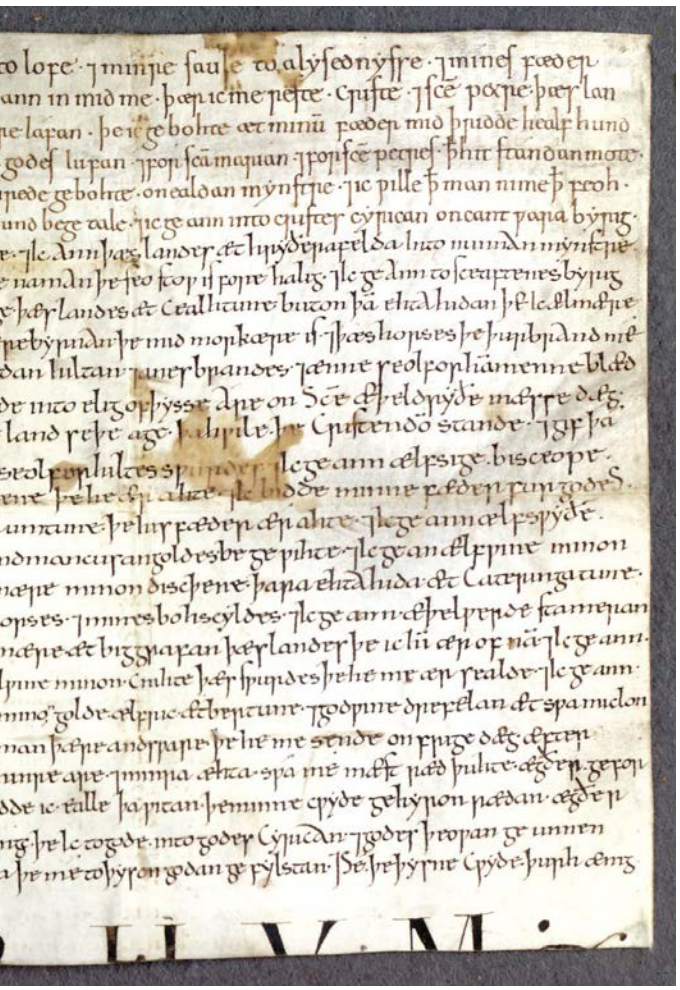


Holy Spirit, which cries out for an explanation. The coinage reverted thereafter to the 'Small Cross' type, harking back to the reign of Edgar, when peace and order prevailed. It is presumptuous, of course, to imagine that we can read the minds of those, in high circles, who must have devised, discussed and approved the designs and shared them with the king. Yet here, in the coinage, we have a window which offers another view on the changing complexities of the period as a whole.

THE TROUBLE BEGAN in the aftermath of Edgar's death on July 8th, 975. The succession was disputed between supporters of his sons, Edward and Æthelred. In the event, the elder half-brother Edward was 'elected' king on July 18th. The differences seem not to have been resolved and matters were made worse by the release of pressure that had built up under Edgar's firm rule, compounded by resentment, in certain quarters, of the support that he had given to the reformed religious houses. Edward was murdered at the Gap of Corfe, in Dorset, on March 18th, 978, whereupon Æthelred, then about 12 years old, became king. It is not known who was responsible for Edward's death and the crime cast a long shadow. The resumption of Viking raids in the 980s was seen as a sign of God's wrath directed against the English people for their complicity in the death of an anointed king.

Further complications soon followed. In the 980s Æthelred fell under the influence of men who were able to take advantage of his relative youth, in the advancement of their own interests. Religious houses that had flourished in the 960s and early 970s, such as Abingdon, the Old Minster, Winchester and Ely, came under threat, suffering the loss of their lands and the violation of their privileges. The deaths of Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, in 984 and of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 988 were deeply felt, as no doubt were the deaths of several others who had risen to prominence during Edgar's reign. These were difficult times, as yet little understood, but the passing of those who had held high office under Edgar made way for a new generation. Over a period of nearly 15 years, from 991 to 1005, a Viking force was at large in England, initially as a hostile army, then (in some part) as a mercenary force based on the Isle of Wight, hired to protect the country against others of their own kind and then again (with further changes in its composition) as a hostile army.

While an Old English poem affords a striking response to the outcome of the Battle of Maldon in 991, the chronicler's account of these years was coloured by his awareness of all that would follow and does not begin to do justice to all that was taking place beneath the surface of recorded events. In effect, the king and his councillors dealt with their adversaries, much as Alfred the Great had done a century before: by fighting when possible, by 'making peace' (involving payment of money) when circumstances demanded more



Left: The will of the *æthelin* (prince) Æthelstan. June 25th, 1014. Right: An *Agnus Dei* penny of 1009.

desperate measures and by striving all the while to earn God's support in their struggle against the heathen foe. It is apparent that the successive archbishops of Canterbury, Sigeric (990-4) and Ælfric (995-1005), played a prominent role in coordinating a response and worked closely with others, including the king (now in his mid- to late twenties), to find a way forward. Yet, while the evidence of law codes, charters and coins combine to create a sense of active engagement, it also exposes the deep-rooted problems that confronted the English in dealing with a threat of the kind they now faced.

THE EXTENDED DRAMA of the middle years of Æthelred's reign was eclipsed by the tumultuous events of its closing decade (1006-16). It is tempting to see the tale, from a 'Danish' point of view, as part of a grand plan for the conquest of England, unfolding from one stage to the next. Yet the Danes could not have foreseen how the English would be torn apart by regional, personal and political differences. In July 1006 a Viking force known to the chronicler as 'the great fleet' arrived at Sandwich on the Kent coast and proceeded from there to ravage in the south and west.

The king was in Shropshire at Christmas, discussing with his councillors how the country could be saved 'before it was completely destroyed'. They decided they had no alternative but to buy the invaders off, whereupon the Vikings returned whence they came. In 1008 the king and his councillors assembled at Enham in Hampshire. Ælfheah, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, took the lead in formulating the response to the continuing emergency, which was published as a law code. As well as the usual measures calculated to secure God's support in their struggle, ships were to be built and brought together after Easter at Sandwich in order to protect the country from invasion. Unfortunately, the ship levy was a shambles. In August 1009 another Viking force, known to the chronicler as 'Thorkel's army', arrived at Sandwich and ransacked the south and east for the next three years. The response of Æthelred and his councillors in this moment of grave crisis was to order a three-day programme of public prayer for late September 1009, complemented (it appears) by a special coin-type invoking the Lamb of God and the Holy Spirit as symbols of peace. Then the king 'ordered all the nation to be called out', so that the enemy could be resisted wherever they went.

The chronicler's account of the conflict between the English and the Danes during these years contains the passages which are most frequently chosen to illustrate the incapacity of the English to sustain effective resistance. Yet before we blame the king for incompetence, the account needs to be set beside what else can be learnt, from the evidence of law codes and charters, about the organisation of defence in Æthelred's reign and, no less importantly, from the evidence of landscape, archaeology and place- ▶

Viking weapons found in London during the 1920s.

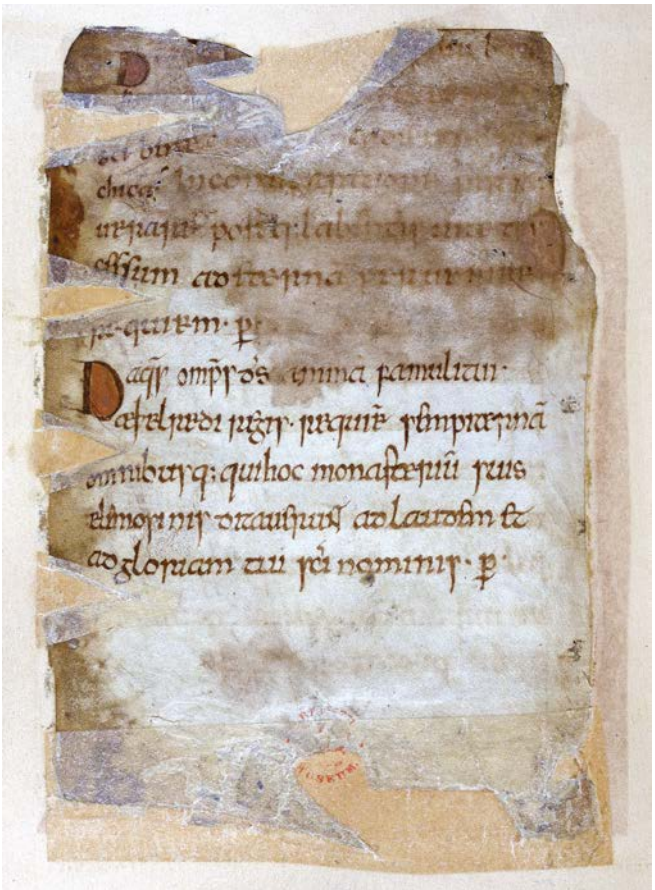
'Things have not gone well now for a long time, but there has been devastation and famine, burning and bloodshed in every district'

names. Sadly, there is no Old English poem to celebrate the deeds of Ulfcytel of East Anglia, in the vicinity of Thetford, initially in 1004 but again at the Battle of Ringmere Heath on May 5th, 1010, though it is mentioned in passing by the chronicler and remembered also by the Vikings themselves. Historians depend on Archbishop Wulfstan's sermon to the English people, conveying his own analysis of the terrible situation, full of gloom and the prospect of doom:

For it is clear and manifest in us all that we have previously transgressed more than we have amended, and therefore much is assailing this people. Things have not gone well now for a long time at home or abroad, but there has been devastation and famine, burning and bloodshed in every district again and again.

Like all good sermons, Wulfstan found occasion to re-use it, repeatedly, but was it good history?

The devastating raids of 1006–7 and 1009–12 were quickly followed by Svein Forkbeard's invasion and conquest of England in 1013–14 (striking down from the Humber into the East Midlands and then heading west) and by his son Cnut's invasion and conquest of England in 1015–16 (which headed towards London from the west). The chronicler's representation of these events bears comparison in certain respects with the accounts of the Norman Conquest 50 years later and there is much to learn about both events. The chronicler of the Scandinavian conquest of England in 1016 fastens on Eadric Streona, Ealdorman of Mercia, as one whose repeated acts of treachery undermined the efforts of the English to resist. There must have been more to it than that, though one is stabbing in the dark. Æthelred's diploma granting land in Derbyshire to his thegn, Morcar, dated 1009, survives in its original form. Attested by his associate Sigeferth (named in capital letters in the list of witnesses at the end), it symbolises the emergence of newly powerful thegns in the midlands, who seem to have precipitated the widespread submissions to Svein Forkbeard in 1013. Æthelred fled to Normandy, but after Svein's death, in February 1014, he was invited to return from refuge. Little is known about the terms on which Æthelred resumed his former position, beyond what was reported by the chronicler. It may be that many would have looked towards the king's eldest son, Æthelstan, as the prospective successor to the throne, in which case Æthelstan's



Translation: Grant, we beseech thee Almighty God, everlasting rest to the soul of thy servant King Æthelred, and to all those who have enriched this monastery with their alms to the honour and glory of thy holy name.

unexpected death, on June 24th, 1014, might have undone whatever had been agreed. Æthelstan's will, made on the day he died and preserved in its original form, brings us close to the circles in which he had moved and reveals a link to his brother Edmund Ironside. Yet, if some now favoured Edmund, others might have had different ideas.

Matters came to a head in the earlier part of 1015, during a royal assembly at Oxford. Morcar and Sigeferth were murdered, allegedly by Ealdorman Eadric. Soon afterwards there was a direct confrontation between the king and Edmund. Cnut's invasion of England in August 1015 seems, therefore, to have been timed to perfection. What follows is the extraordinary sequence of events which passes as history in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

A prayer for King Æthelred's soul, written soon after his death.

VERSES composed by the court poets, or skalds, who celebrated the activities of the leaders of the Viking armies, and the memorial inscriptions inscribed on the stones raised in honour of those who served under them, show how the Vikings viewed their activities. Theirs is a tale of battles fought, strongholds attacked, bridge heads destroyed; among the places named, London and the River Thames feature most prominently. Restored and refortified by Alfred in the early 880s, by the end of the tenth century London had established itself as the principal urban, commercial and political centre of the English kingdom. In early September 994 a Viking fleet of over 90 ships, commanded by Olaf Tryggvason of Norway and Svein Forkbeard of Denmark, came up the Thames to London. As the chronicler says: 'They proceeded to attack the city stoutly and wished also to set it on fire; but there they suffered more harm and injury than they ever thought any citizens would do to them.' In 1009 the Vikings attacked London again, 'but, praise be to God, it still stands untouched, and they always suffered loss there'. By the time Svein Forkbeard and his son Cnut brought their armies to England in 1013–16, Æthelred was based in London and the city was in the eye of the storm. In the early 1920s an assemblage of axe-heads, spearheads and other implements was found at the north end of old London Bridge. Evidently of Scandinavian origin (dating from c.1000), they are now on display in the Museum of London. One could not wish for a more potent symbol of all that the Vikings meant to the English of Æthelred's reign (Londoners in particular), to set beside the skaldic verse and the rune stones, not to mention the thousands of coins.

ÆTHELRED DIED in London on St George's Day (April 23rd), 1016, after a reign of 38 years, and was buried in the cathedral church of St Paul. He was the first of his line to be buried there and the first king of England who might have regarded London as the political and commercial centre of his kingdom. In the mid-1660s the marble sarcophagus that had been provided for him in the 12th century stood in an alcove on the north side of the chancel. It was destroyed when Old St Paul's was ravaged in the Great Fire of 1666. Yet Æthelred's name can still be seen in the coffee shop, on a modern stone that stands for all the tombs known to have been lost. The verdict of the chronicler, on whose account so much would come to depend, remains the closest we come to a contemporary epitaph: 'He had held his kingdom with great toil and difficulties as long as his life lasted.' Æthelred will always be judged by the disastrous outcome of his reign, just as its events will always be discussed in terms derived from the chronicler's account. One suspects, moreover, that he may never shake off the collateral damage done to him by his soubriquet. For the rest of us, it remains a matter of looking further, digging deeper and scraping harder, in search of greater understanding.

Simon Keynes is Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

FURTHER READING

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Death is sweet: *The Great Lozenge-Maker. A Hint to Paterfamilias* by John Leech, *Punch*, 1858.

As politicians consider the introduction of a sugar tax to improve the nation's health, **Harry Cunningham** recalls a tragic incident from 1858, which forced the British government to rethink its regulation of pharmacists.

The Bradford Sweets Poisoning

THOSE OF US with a sweet tooth might recoil in horror at the idea of a tax on sugary food and drinks, a stick with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne – spurred on by healthy eating campaigner Jamie Oliver – has hit the UK food industry for not doing more to tackle the country's growing teenage obesity crisis. A sugar tax is far from a novel idea. In the 18th and 19th centuries there were few sugar factories in the UK and, according to Ben Jonson, the cost of importing this 'white gold' meant that demand outstripped supply, a situation the government was happy to take advantage of by introducing a tax. Many of the arguments against a sugar tax today can be traced back to its historical counterpart.

Eleni Courea, writing in the *Spectator* last year, argued that 'if this goes ahead, and sugar is taxed, then who will suffer? Not, by and large, the people who frequent Jamie Oliver's spectacularly mediocre restaurants'. She is one of many who believe that a sugar tax would serve only to punish the poor. Courea has history on her side. For the events of 1858 show how, if sugar becomes too expensive, those who cannot afford it will turn to substitutes, which are equally unhealthy and even dangerous.

The infamous Bradford Sweets Poisoning took place on October 30th, a busy Saturday market day. Sweetseller William Hardaker, known locally as 'Humbug Billy' for the peppermint humbugs or lozenges he sold, set out on his

usual morning routine to buy the sweets for his Greenmarket stall. Joseph Neal usually prepared the sweets for Hardaker at his drug store on Stone Street. He used peppermint oil, gum and a sugar substitute called daft. Daft was a kind of edible – though far from appetising – plaster of Paris. Neal, however, had run out of daft, so on the morning in question he sent his lodger James Archer to collect it from Charles Hodgson, another druggist, who lived several miles away. When Archer reached the store, Hodgson was in bed ill and it was his assistant, William Goddard, who was behind the counter; Goddard enquired with his boss as to the location of the daft and was told it was kept in an unlabelled cask in the corner of the room. Tragically, the cask of daft was standing next to a cask of arsenic, also unlabelled, and Goddard unsuspectingly served Archer with 12 lb of the deadly poison.

Over-the-counter culture

The result was that the sweets were sold on and children around the town began to fall down dead. By the end of the incident around 12 people had died and so many were ill that it was impossible to keep track. An article in the *Bradford Observer* described the fear that gripped the town: 'It seemed for a brief period in some districts as if a dreadful plague had smitten us.'

It is worth noting that, had Neal, Hodgson or Goddard chosen to make the humbugs with sugar, then the incident would never have happened. In the 19th century sugar was sold as a solid cone known as a sugarloaf, which would not have been placed in a cask.

This was an age when ordinary members of the public could buy arsenic, cocaine or heroin from their local confectioner

Nevertheless, it did not take the police long to trace the chain back to Goddard and, following an inquest, he was charged on December 9th with manslaughter, followed shortly by Neal and Hodgson. Charges against Neal and Goddard were dropped while Hodgson went on to be completely exonerated with a not guilty verdict. The incident went down in history as an unfortunate accident, albeit one that provoked outrage.

As the historian James C. Whorton explains, an anonymous letter in the *Manchester Guardian* gives a flavour of the nation's mood at the time. 'Will anyone tell me what right that lozenge maker had to sell us plaster of Paris for sugar? Why should our stomachs be disordered, our children's health destroyed.' Neal and Hardaker, the letter adds, were 'part of a vile system that needs the strong hand of power to abolish it'.

Even the Victorian Tory Party – as opposed to interfering in free markets as they are today – realised something had to be done. At the time of the Bradford sweets poisoning there was virtually no regulation of food or drugs; this was an age when ordinary members of the public could buy arsenic, cocaine or heroin from their local confectioner with few questions asked. The risks and addictive qualities of drugs were not yet fully understood and it was believed that they could cure illnesses rather than just temporarily relieve pain. Those in favour of legalising drugs today may look upon this period with nostalgia, but such views mask the reality: a would-be murderer could buy various poisons with relative ease, a mother could purchase a bottle of Mrs Winslow's Soothing Syrup for her newly born baby, even though it was laced with morphine, and accidents like the Bradford sweets case were inevitable.

The 1860 Act for Preventing Adulteration in Food and Drink was the government's first attempt at legislation. This introduced fines for contaminating food and drink with lethal substances. But it was widely condemned as a failure, as many of the stipulations were vague and unenforceable – Whorton describes it as 'useless'. In fact it took until 1868, a decade after the Sweets Poisoning, for the government to succeed with the Pharmacy Act. Principally, this act defined the role of the pharmacist – somebody who had taken exams set by the Pharmaceutical Society – and restricted the sales of drugs and poisons to pharmacists alone. Crucially then, this professionalised the pharmacy industry for the first time. Anyone buying from a pharmacist was required to record their name and address in a register. The manufacturing industry also took matters into its own hands, producing ridged bottles in bright colours specifically for poisons so that they could be 'identified by touch' in low candle light. The results of the 1868 Act were clear for all to see: the number of children who died of opium overdoses declined by eight per cent in the three years following its enactment, while the number of overall fatalities had significantly fallen by the end of the century.

Stringent on sugar

Many would argue this extraordinary tragic moment in history highlights the dangers of trying to force behavioural change through taxation rather than through regulation and reform. Though daft has thankfully been confined to the dustbins of history, research suggests over indulgence in other sugar substitutes – sweeteners – to which poorer people will no doubt turn when sugar is taxed once again, may lead to diarrhoea. Research by the San Antonio Heart Study also suggests the risks of weight gain and obesity are 'significantly greater' in those drinking sugar free or diet beverages compared with those who do not drink them'; the UK's obesity epidemic may be exaggerated by a new sugar tax.

History paints a compelling argument for regulatory options rather than taxation. Just like heroin, opium and alcohol, many experts believe sugar is a substance whose use the state has a moral duty to control. Though there are guidelines which stipulate the amount of sugar that a product can contain, these have not been updated in several years and there is no age restriction on the consumption of food and drink that is very high in sugar, as there is with alcohol and tobacco. Introducing such a move might prove unpopular but it would certainly satisfy the government's aim to introduce a fully worked up programme to 'combat childhood obesity'.

Only effective regulation of the market will properly protect people in the way that they need.

Harry Cunningham is a freelance writer, whose work has been published by the *Guardian*, the *Independent* and the *Huffington Post*.

Left: 'A young man with scrofula', *Atlas of Clinical Medicine*, 1892-96.
Right: 'The royal gift of healing', frontispiece to *Adenochoiradelogia*, 1684.

A Touch of Charles II

The belief that a king's laying on of hands could cure the disfiguring disease of scrofula gained new heights of popularity during the Restoration, as **Stephen Brogan** explains.

THE MOST DETAILED book on scrofula and the royal touch published during the early modern period was the lavishly titled *Adenochoiradelogia, or an atomick-chirurgical treatise of glandules & strumas or, Kings-evil-swellings: together with the royal gift of healing*. Scrofula was known as the king's evil: 'evil' means malady and it was the king's because, it was believed, his physical touch could cure it. *Adenochoiradelogia* is a Greek neologism meaning 'the healing of glands'. Written in English and published in London in 1684, the book's author was John Browne, surgeon-in-ordinary to Charles II. Browne was a competent naval surgeon who had worked at St Thomas' Hospital, where he became the first medical practitioner to describe cirrhosis of the liver.

Browne's book is composed of three parts, the first two of which discuss scrofula, its causes, symptoms and treatments. Scrofula is an infection of the lymph nodes by the tubercular bacillus, known to modern medicine as *tubercular adenitis*. Its symptoms include painful and disfiguring abscesses and suppurations on the face and neck. It manifests itself in a number of ways: it can be acute, where the disease shifts between being visibly present and in remission; it can be a chronic, long-term condition; or it can be fatal. Scrofula was rife in pre-modern Europe. Doctors were familiar with it and usually diagnosed it correctly, although other similar infections of the eyes, glands, face and neck were sometimes also loosely diagnosed as scrofula. As it was difficult to treat, patients usually received a range ▶

The Royal Gift of Healing

of therapies. Doctors prescribed medicine and emollients; surgeons operated on tumours; healers and cunning folk administered medicinal remedies and charms, or, like the monarch, would heal by touch.

The third part of *Adenochoiradelogia* deals with the royal touch itself, the ceremony at which the sovereign laid hands on the scrofulous sores that disfigured the faces and necks of the afflicted in order to heal them in imitation of Christ. The ceremony originated in France during the 11th century and was assimilated into English royal custom by the Plantagenet kings during the 13th century. The royal touch had its own liturgy, which probably dated from Henry VII's reign and was composed of prayers and passages from the New Testament, read aloud by the royal chaplains. Prayer was central to the ceremony due to the widespread belief that the primary cause of disease was sin, either that of the individual or the collective sins of a group, community or nation. Thus prayer and redemption were necessary, if God was to sanction recovery. Healing by touch was a charismatic act that bolstered monarchical authority, the sovereign acting as a conduit for God's healing powers.

Mary Tudor cures the king's evil, mid 16th century.

The royal touch had its own liturgy, which probably dated from the reign of Henry VII

Browne's book was especially topical because by 1684 demand for the royal touch in England was at its height. Charles II touched more people, with greater regularity, than any of his predecessors. By the 1680s he was ministering to 6,000 people a year. The total number of subjects touched for scrofula during his reign was around 96,000. By comparison, between 1530 and 1532 Henry VIII touched just 65 people, numbers that were probably typical for the 16th century.

THE EXTRAORDINARY demand for the royal touch during the Restoration can be explained in two ways. First, it built on the growing popularity of the rite since the accession of James VI and I in 1603, who reformed the ceremony, making it more Protestant. Before then, every monarch, whether Roman Catholic or Anglican, had made the sign of the cross over the sores that they touched in order to bless them. James removed this gesture as he thought it too Catholic. James touched around 870 people annually, numbers which continued to increase during Charles I's reign. During the Restoration the ceremony was seen as an antidote to the trauma of the Civil Wars and regicide. The royal touch was part of the groundswell of popular royalism that engulfed much of the population when Charles II returned from a decade of exile in 1660. People celebrated the homecoming of the Stuarts with bonfires, parties, public toasts and by singing ballads. Notwithstanding the merriments, the Restoration was widely understood in providential terms. The return of the king was God's will and many sermons reflected on its rapid, peaceful and largely unpredicted nature, to the extent that it was referred to as 'miraculous'.

Though Charles II's views on the ceremony have not come down to us, he was evidently willing to devote a lot of time to touching the sick. This was probably a combination of duty and pragmatism: the ceremony offered the possibility of a cure, while also enhancing the crown's authority and fostering loyalty, allowing Charles to interact harmoniously with his subjects. More specifically, Charles treated people regardless of their politics, their religion or their past. That included Puritans and parliamentarians who had opposed his father in the 1640s. That such people should seek out the royal touch is itself intriguing. It is perhaps linked to the belief that those with scrofula bore the collective weight of the sins of the nation and that, when the king touched and healed people with scrofula, he also healed the divisions of the body politic. The royal touch offered reconciliation and concord.

ADENOCHOIRADELOGIA was printed by the king's printer, Thomas Newcomb, and published by Samuel Lowndes. The book sold well and, in retrospect, it has two exceptional qualities. It contains the longest first-hand account of the ritual of the royal touch ever published and it contains details of the condition of people who were touched by the king, shining light on the ceremony's effectiveness.

As surgeon to the king, Browne was closely involved in two stages of the ritual, an early example of a government-regulated health process. He was responsible for ensuring that only those who were ill with scrofula were admitted to the ceremony, as this was the only disease that could be cured by the royal hand, and he took part in the service itself.

Proclamations and notices in newspapers informed people of the royal healing schedule, which concentrated on Easter and Michaelmas to avoid the heat of the summer, which was associated with plague. The supplicants had to acquire a certificate from the minister of their parish confirming that they had scrofula and had not been touched before. Then they had to travel to London, or wherever the king resided, some journeying great distances. On arrival they were examined by the king's surgeons to ensure that they did indeed have scrofula.

It was Browne's job, along with other surgeons such as Richard Wiseman, to carry out the assessment. This was a difficult task. Given the great demand for the royal touch during the Restoration, the king might touch 200 people or more at a large ceremony, meaning that the surgeons had to assess similar or greater numbers. The surgeons also had to be vigilant against counterfeit certificates and those who, despite not having scrofula, still wanted to be touched by the king. If the surgeons decided a diagnosis was incorrect, the patient was to be turned away and denied the chance of being healed. A directive issued by the government instructed them to give 'tickets only to apparent cases [of scrofula]' and said that, if they were uncertain, they could re-examine the person at a later date. ▶

Charles II, by John Michael Wright, c.1660-65.

Left: John Browne, from the frontispiece to his *Adenochoiradelogia*.

Right: Nathaniel Crew, 3rd Baron Crew, Clerk of the Closet, who handed the king his Angels at the royal touch ceremony.

BROWNE'S BOOK WAS AIMED specifically at doctors and ministers. Its detailed contents were intended to help them diagnose scrofula in their patients and parishioners. The improvement of provincial diagnoses would greatly ease Browne's task of assessing the large numbers of people who sought the king's touch.

There was considerable pressure on the surgeons and the supplicants at the assessment stage. The diarist John Evelyn recorded an occasion in 1684 when the crush of people outside the surgeon's door was so great that several were killed. Indeed, Browne commented that same year that 'it is harder to approach the Chirurgeon [to acquire a ticket for the ceremony], than obtain a Touch [at the ceremony]'.

The ceremony was meant to occur soon after each assessment so that the sick did not have to wait around, which could be expensive in terms of food and lodgings. These had to be paid for, but the royal touch was free. The crowd needed to be patient: in June 1660 Samuel Pepys wrote in his diary that Charles II did not arrive at the Banqueting House on time because 'it rayned so. And the poor people were forced to stand all the morning in the rain in the garden'.

Before formal proceedings began, the two attending surgeons decided the order in which supplicants should be touched, prioritising the most ill and those who had travelled the furthest. Custom also dictated that the king took communion and heard a sermon before the ceremony. He may also have fasted beforehand. He needed to be purified in order to act as a conduit for God's grace and heal the sick.

At the end of Adenochoiradelogia Browne put forward 86 case studies that testified to the efficacy of the royal touch

THE FRONTISPIECE to Browne's book is a striking engraving by Robert White entitled 'The royal gift of healing', depicting the ceremony of the royal touch. Charles II can be seen in the centre of the image, seated on a throne under a canopy of state but not wearing formal robes, flanked by courtiers. In the foreground are people waiting to be touched, including a man on crutches being assisted by another man with a stick and four children. As the bulk of the crowd in the image are facing away from the viewer, it is difficult at first to tell if they have scrofula, but on close inspection the symptoms can be seen. In the bottom left corner the woman leaning down to attend to a young child appears to have a dark shadow on her right cheek. To her immediate left stands someone whose face also has dark patches on it.

The ceremony began with two royal chaplains reciting the healing liturgy: these men are visible to the left of the king, holding prayer books that contain the service. One of the surgeons then led a supplicant up to the king along an approach to the throne that was guarded on either side by yeoman warders. Both the surgeon and the supplicant knelt in homage to the king and one of the chaplains read out Christ's words to his disciples after his resurrection: 'They shall lay their hands on the sick and they shall recover' (Mark 16:18). The king used both hands to touch and stroke the scrofulous sores. After this public intimacy, a second surgeon led the supplicant away to wait at one side, while the first surgeon brought the next to the king. In the image the second surgeon standing to the right of the king can be identified, due to the resemblance to Browne's portrait, as John Browne himself. To the right are three people who have just been touched, walking away behind the yeoman warders; the woman clasping her hands in prayer has a patch of scrofula on her right cheek.

Once the congregation had been touched, they were each presented to the monarch for a second time in order to receive a gold medal that commemorated the ceremony, known then as an Angel and today as a touch-piece. They were named Angels because of their portrayal of the Archangel Michael slaying the devil in the form of a two-legged dragon, or wyvern. The Archangel Michael was the warrior who led the fight against God's enemies, as well as the guardian of souls. His image on the coin symbolised the triumph of good over evil and, hence, of health over disease, given the belief that illness was related to sin. The image of St Michael was accompanied by the legend *Soli Deo Gloria*, 'To God alone the glory', which spelt out the source of the healing power of the ceremony. On the coin's reverse appeared the ship of state, an image of Charles I's warship the *Sovereign of the Seas*, symbol of a healthy body politic.

The Angels, threaded onto a strong white ribbon, were handed to the king by the clerk of the closet, who, between 1669 and 1685, was Nathaniel Crew, Bishop of Durham, to whom Browne dedicated *Adenochoiradelogia*. Crew is depicted in the frontispiece to the left of the king and to the right of the chaplains, holding the touch-pieces. As each sick person received their medal from the king, the chaplains recited a passage from the Gospel of St John: 'It was the true light that lighteth every man which cometh into this.'

Once everyone had received their Angel the king's hands were ritually cleansed. Gentlemen ushers presented the Lord Chamberlain and two other prominent courtiers with a ewer of rose water, a basin and a linen towel and the three men bowed three times in front of the king, knelt down and washed and dried his hands. The Lord Chamberlain can be seen standing on the far left of the engraving, to the left of the chaplain, behind the ewer. The public cleansing of the king's hands was the important final act of the ceremony: a lengthy healing rite required a formal ending that signified that the king's thaumaturgic role had ended. This is borne out by the prominent position of the ewer and basin in the healing image and by the fact the task was undertaken by noblemen rather than gentlemen ushers. Once the king was ritually cleansed he retired, often to dine, and everyone else was left to pray for him and to 'congratulate one another for their recovery' before beginning their journeys home.

A FURTHER strength of Browne's book is the detail that it provides concerning the number of people who sought Charles II's touch. The staff of the Chapel Royal was responsible for ensuring that the correct number of Angels was supplied by the Mint for each ceremony. These totals were recorded in registers, which Browne published at the end of his book. Other records concerning the supply of Angels verify this data. It is from these accounts that the huge total of 96,000 people touched by Charles II is derived. Unsurprisingly, there is no evidence that some 96,000 people were completely cured of their scrofula at the exact moment that Charles II touched them, in the way that the Gospels record that Christ healed the sick. Yet surely the ceremony had to be effective if it was to bolster royal authority? And why would the sick want to be touched in such great numbers if the ceremony did not cure them? At the end of *Adenochoiradelogia* Browne put forward 86 case studies that testified to the efficacy of the royal touch. The fact that he needed to provide proof of the effectiveness of royal therapeutics hints at a climate of scepticism in some quarters. The case studies themselves contain details of people's circumstances and conditions, a reflection of the new intellectual culture of observation and enquiry that is associated with the new science. While a small number of Browne's cases suggest an immediate cure, the bulk of his evidence suggests a slower improvement, the first signs of which were usually apparent about two weeks after people were touched.

The fast, dramatic, cures were surely the most useful in bolstering faith in the ritual and they sometimes alluded to biblical miracles. ▶

A touch-piece of Charles II, known at the time as an Angel.

They make vivid reading. When one young girl, blind with scrofula, was touched by Charles, the film that covered her eyes broke and her sight returned. The daughter of Mr Harbins of Winchester was blind with scrofula: she was touched and later that same day her sight had returned to the extent that when she saw a maypole on the Strand she asked her mother 'what that long pole was for'? Cases such as these bring to mind the passage from the Gospel of Mark in which four blind men are healed by Christ.

YET A SLOWER improvement in people's health is more typical of the cases Browne described. Mr Edwards from Curry Rivel, Somerset, had scrofulous sores on his face, which had blinded him; in 1660 he came to London to be touched and within six weeks his sores had gone and his sight had returned. Marmaduke Ling of North Petherton, also in Somerset, had particularly florid scrofula on his face: he was touched, with an improvement noticeable within 14 days and a full recovery within six weeks. Two years later he had still not relapsed. A Berkshire woman blind with scrofula regained partial sight within 'less than fourteen days' after she was touched, and continued to improve. When another woman who had been blind for four months due to scrofula was touched, she regained her sight 'within a month'.

The key to understanding people's expectations of the royal touch is their attitude to medicine. Today, medical science is expected to cure ailments because of advances in science and healthcare; it is true that some diseases remain incurable, but nevertheless we tend to believe that science will ultimately triumph. By contrast, in pre-modern Europe many diseases were difficult or impossible to treat and so there was much less fixation on cure. Furthermore, Christian doctrine taught that salvation came through suffering. The role of the doctor was primarily to provide pain management, to fortify the body and to adjust the whole constitution. Treatment went beyond drugs and involved psychological consolation and rituals of comfort and condolence. If someone's disease was also cured, this was an additional benefit. Life was far more precarious then than now, so it was usual to believe that one's existence lay in the hands of God rather than those of the doctors.

IN LIGHT OF THIS, Browne's case studies make more sense. On the one hand, no doubt some of the supplicants hoped for a miraculous cure, while also knowing that such things had always been rare. On the other, the king's 'patients' may have been seeking psychological consolation from being in close proximity to God's representative on earth, which allowed them the opportunity to act out in public their humility and obedience to the crown. The hope surely was that this would please God, who might alleviate their condition. Thus even a small improvement in someone's scrofula soon after the ceremony signified the effectiveness of the royal touch. If the royal touch did not work – and Browne does mention this – it was usual to think that more faith was needed.

THE HUGE NUMBER of people who sought Charles II's healing touch and the publication of texts such as *Adenochoiradelogia* with its attractive frontispiece suggest a cult of personal monarchy. This was underpinned by Charles' willingness to touch the sick on such a large scale and perhaps by the widespread desire to atone for the regicide. The royal touch involved Charles working closely with his surgeons to try to cure or alleviate scrofula. In fact, the disease remained widespread but, given that the primary cause of illness was usually thought to be sin, supplicants still came to the monarch who ruled 'by grace of God' in the hope of being restored to good health. Browne gave the royal touch its most thorough treatment, spelling out the benevolent nature of Charles II and documenting the efficacy of the ceremony. No wonder that Charles was delighted with the book, finding it to his 'great Liking and Satisfaction'.

Stephen Brogan is Visiting Lecturer at Royal Holloway, University of London and the author of *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Boydell and Brewer, 2015).

FURTHER READING

Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (Penguin, 2006).

Jenny Uglow, *A Gambling Man: Charles II and the Restoration* (Faber & Faber, 2009).

John Miller, *The Restoration and the England of Charles II* (Routledge, 1997).

Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Monarchy and Miracles in France and England* (Routledge, 1997).

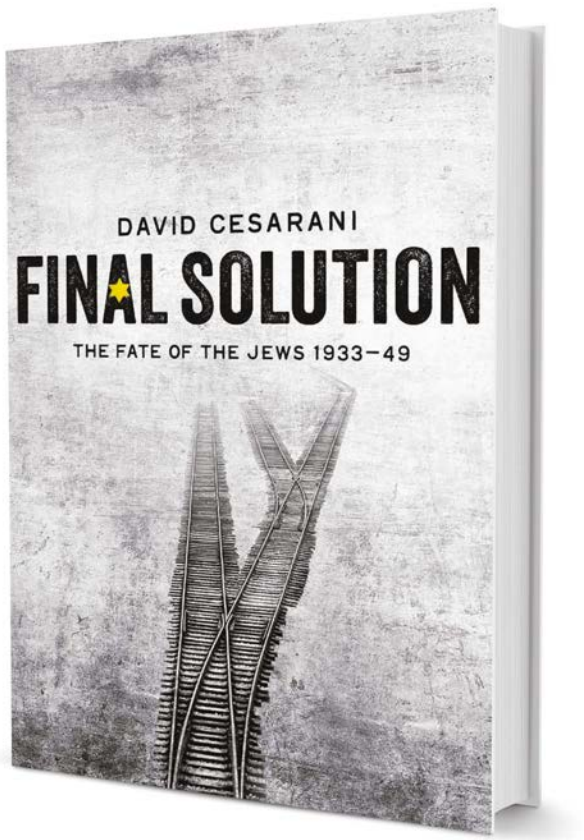
Giulia Miller *on Nazi plunder of Jewish books* **Paul Bolam** *on apiculture in Ancient Egypt*
Frank Trentmann *examines the role of literature and art amid the ruins of the Reich*

REVIEWS

HOLOCAUST

A People's Journey Through Hell

The late David Cesarani's *magnum opus* is a graphic study of the Third Reich's barbarities and the postwar fate of the Jews.



THERE ARE a great many studies of the Holocaust, but few scholars have relayed as graphically or in as much detail as David Cesarani the crimes and cruelties committed by Hitler's Third Reich against the Jews of Europe. Throughout *Final Solution* he quotes the vivid personal testimony of those who were present as they recall almost indescribable barbarities and he often caps such a section with a brief recital of the most chilling statistics.

Cesarani died aged 58 last October and, in his absence, was the recipient of this year's Longman-*History Today* Trustees' Award. His previous books include penetrating studies of the lives of Arthur Koestler and Adolf Eichmann, while his active advocacy helped create the Holocaust galleries at the Imperial War Museum and establish Holocaust Memorial Day in the UK. By the time of his death, Cesarani had completed the main text of *Final Solution* and he spent his last days and weeks going through the detailed references (which take up nearly 100 pages at the end of the book).

Until 40 or so years ago, few historians of the Second World War focused on the Nazi mass-murder of Jews, the whole subject tending to be subsumed within a narrative more likely to be predominantly political or military. People wrote (and read) biographies of such figures as Hitler, Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt and there was a widespread appetite for books recounting the great battles and the men who led them. Then, as the wartime horrors gradually receded into the past, many who had survived them, hitherto often reluctant to talk about their painful experiences, came in old age to feel the urgent need to do so. Personal memories were recorded and videoed, archive banks accumulated, educational courses installed, exhibitions and museums inaugurated. The collapse of Soviet communism, furthermore, led to the opening up of previously unavailable sources in Russia and its former satellite territories, thus helping extend the reach of research from Germany itself to incorporate Eastern Europe, where many of the most heinous crimes had been committed.

Meanwhile, a new generation of historians – not least in Germany – was trying to confront the large question of responsibility. How far could Hitler personally be held to account for the mass murder of European Jews? He had made his views, hopes and intentions about the Jews clear ever since publication of *Mein Kampf* in 1925, if not earlier. Maybe, argued some, the horrors of Nazism were essentially the implementation by Hitler and his henchmen of a carefully pre-planned policy.

Contrasting this 'intentionalist' view, other scholars tended towards what came to be dubbed a more 'functionalist' interpretation of Nazi crimes. This held that, while the overall politico-philosophical outlook

of Hitler and his followers had indeed been known from the outset, the detailed unfolding of their actions and their descent into the moral abyss could better be understood if seen against the constantly shifting (and rapidly deteriorating) military circumstances in which the Nazi leadership eventually found itself.

The deeper truth, as always in such complex issues, no doubt contains elements of both, but Cesarani aligns himself resolutely with the functionalists. He is in good company, alongside such distinguished German scholars as Martin Broszat and Hans Mommsen, as well as Christopher Browning, Ian Kershaw and others. But, more than most, Cesarani is at pains to emphasise (perhaps over-emphasise) this approach. Thus, while Hitler had an overall view about, for

Cesarani takes us beyond 1945, [to] the continued sufferings of the millions who remained 'deported' and homeless

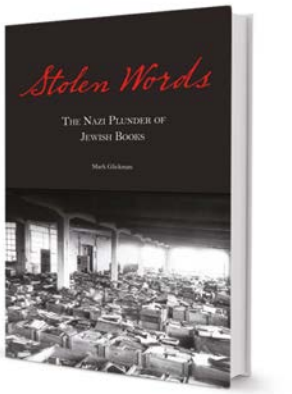
example, the desirability of combining Austria and Germany, 'it was characteristic that he had given little thought to the practical details of how this was to be accomplished'. Again and again – including at the notorious Wannsee conference of January 1942 – the 'Jewish Question' was left unresolved, says Cesarani. Something of a 'sideshow', it was 'ill-planned, under-funded and carried through haphazardly'. This is not to deny that Hitler and his followers had an obsessive hatred towards the Jews. But the *leitmotif* that runs throughout the book is that it was 'Germany's economic exigencies, strategic priorities, military successes and setbacks [that] would decisively influence how Jews were treated'.

In Cesarani's view, Hitler thought of himself as a warrior and it was above all the experience of the First World War and of Germany's ignominious defeat – engineered, he was convinced, by 'international Jewry' – that shaped his subsequent thinking. In the 1930s, the Nazi desire to render Germany free of Jews had included the possibility of forcing them to move to Palestine (which Eichmann visited in 1937). Once war had broken out and Nazi forces were moving eastwards across Poland, Jews came to be regarded as an available, invaluable, malleable and much-needed workforce. As such, they were concentrated in specially commandeered camps and ghettoes from which those too old or sick to work could be systematically 'removed': a brutal policy, which, as the Nazi regime found itself confronted by ever-increasing military pressure, especially from the Soviet Union, came to be applied in a somewhat desperate way to Jewish populations wherever they were encountered. Cesarani journeys right across the map of Europe in his quest to cover the detailed unfolding of Nazi *Judenpolitik*. Further, unlike many other works on the war and the Holocaust, *Final Solution* takes us beyond 1945, as Cesarani reminds readers of the continued sufferings of the millions who remained 'deported' and homeless in the years following the official end of the conflict.

The book is not an encyclopedia and there are aspects of the wider story that Cesarani has not investigated or documented in any detail: the thoughts and feelings of the countless ordinary 'perpetrators', 'bystanders' and 'collaborationists', for example, or the fate of other (non-Jewish) victims of the Holocaust. But with its focus on the fate of European Jewry, *Final Solution* is an important and impressive book, extraordinarily wide ranging in its coverage and sources. It will go down as the *magnum opus* of a much-lamented and greatly admired historian of modern Jewish history.

Daniel Snowman

***Final Solution: The Fate of the Jews 1933-49* by David Cesarani**
Macmillan 950pp £30



Stolen Words

The Nazi Plunder of Jewish Books
by Mark Glickman
Jewish Publication Society / Nebraska University Press 312pp £23.50

THE FATE **of Jewish books is a common theme in accounts of European antisemitism. Beginning in the second century BC, assaults on Jews have gone hand in hand with assaults on their literature, usually in the form of censorship or book-burning. It is widely assumed that the Third Reich simply continued an established antisemitic tradition, but Mark Glickman takes a different approach in this movingly written study.**

By the end of the 1930s, Nazi think tanks had initiated a campaign to save rather than destroy Jewish books. The objec-

One of the three Nazis in charge of looting Jewish books was fluent in Hebrew and familiar with classical Jewish texts

tive was perverse: to create an awe-inspiring library that would reveal the ways and mores of a soon-to-be-destroyed civilisation. The drive to preserve Jewish literature was as efficient as the one that sought to exterminate its owners. By 1945, Glickman estimates, the Nazis had amassed over 35 million books from Europe's Jews.

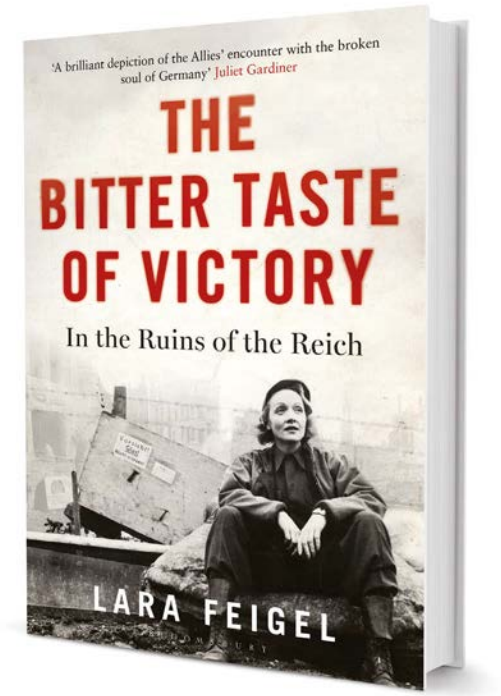
Of the three Nazis in charge of this huge looting operation, one was even fluent in Hebrew and familiar with classical Jewish texts. Working under the auspices of Nazi agencies, the ERR (Reichsleiter Rosenberg Task Force) and the RSHA (Reich Security Main Office), they pillaged private homes, libraries, schools and synagogues and stored their plunder in secret locations around Europe. In one case-study, Glickman describes the fate of Strashun Library in Vilna (now the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius), where Jewish workers had to select those books worth saving and those that could be pulped, as 'an eerie literary counterpart' to the Holocaust.

The second half of the book looks at the campaign to return plundered books to their original owners, which proved to be extremely complicated. The Jewish landscape had been radically altered; communities in Europe were all but wiped out while new ones were forming in Palestine, the US, Australia, South Africa and Canada; Eastern European Jews who had survived were now under Soviet rule.

The task of distributing millions of stolen Jewish books in a post-Holocaust world was eventually allocated to the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc (JCR), an organisation led by a group of Jewish scholars, including Salo Baron and Hannah Arendt. While many books were reunited with their rightful owners, the majority remained unclaimed. Who should get them? The JCR's solutions were political and strategic, supporting the new Jewish communities in Palestine and elsewhere by offering them the lion's share, while acknowledging the demise of others with a token amount. Their reasoning is one of the most fascinating aspects of Glickman's excellent study.

***Stolen Words* concludes on a sober note: millions of Jews were murdered during the Second World War but many of their books survived. As memory of the Holocaust fades, reading these texts allows us to honour the dead and, if but for a moment, connect with a world now gone forever.**

Giulia Miller


'A brilliant depiction of the Allies' encounter with the broken soul of Germany' Juliet Gardiner
THE BITTER TASTE OF VICTORY
In the Ruins of the Reich
LARA FEIGEL

SECOND WORLD WAR

Facing the German Catastrophe

The role of culture in postwar Germany's moral renewal is the focus of a brave but limited attempt to unravel the murky complexities faced by a defeated nation.

IT IS ONE of the most startling pictures of the end of the Second World War, taken in May 1945, soon after Hitler's death. Lee Miller, the American photojournalist, sits in the bathtub of Hitler's apartment in Munich. His portrait stares at her from one side, while a classical nude statue looks on from the other. At the feet of the bathtub stand her army boots, still muddy from her recent visit to Dachau.

How could the same Germans, who loved culture and enjoyed a modern standard of living, have been mass murderers responsible for the greatest crime in history? This question has agitated generations of writers, but in this fascinating book Feigel takes it in a particular direction: might literature and art also be able to cleanse the Germans?

Miller is merely one in a dramatic cast of US, British and German émigré writers and artists who Feigel follows through the rubble of occupied Germany. They range from the flamboyant Martha Gellhorn, the great war correspondent, to Marlene Dietrich, the exiled movie star, and Nobel prize-winning novelist Thomas Mann. We know a lot about each of these individuals. What is fresh and exciting about this book is that Feigel gives us a moral group portrait. She compares their hopes and disappointments about the German people, their guilt and chance of redemption.

Those who like a good story, will find plenty of drama and vivid detail. Gellhorn was upset by the corpses of the camps but she also loved to dance the night away – for nine hours at a time. Dietrich, who had become a US citizen in 1939, visited the country of her birth shortly after VE day, only to find out that her sister and brother-in-law worked with the SS in Belsen. She made sure that the British army did not throw them in jail, but nothing more. For the rest of her life, she would deny she ever had a sister.

How could the same Germans who loved culture ... have been responsible for the greatest crime in history

Feigel is more than a good storyteller. She identifies two schools of thought. Miller and Mann represented one group, marked by a deep disillusionment with the Germans based on a belief in their collective guilt. Each and every German was guilty: Mann included himself in this category for not having spoken out earlier against the Nazis. To them, Germans showed no remorse and were beyond redemption. The poet Stephen Spender and the playwright Carl Zuckmayer were more hopeful. How could children have been responsible for the crimes of their fathers? The young might be saved and weaned off militarism by liberal arts and culture.

The great strength of this book may also be its one weakness. So focused is the lens on these British and American writers, that it can leave the German population a somewhat grey mass. Ultimately, we learn about Spender and Gellhorn, not the German soul. Starvation and disease, Feigel writes, made it 'increasingly absurd' for Germans to 'think in terms of guilt'. This may be too simple. In 1946, shame and remorse were still a theme, as in Wolfgang Borchert's play *The Man Outside*. That year more than two thirds of Germans approved of the war crimes trials. By 1950, it was the reverse. The struggle for survival played a role in this shift, but so, too, did Germans' moralisation of their own suffering and the competition to establish their own victimhood, reinforced by the plight of the 12 million Germans expelled from the East and struggles over compensation.

Feigel has a keen eye for a catchy phrase to sum up developments, but sometimes they are too neat. After the Nuremberg trials were over in late 1946, she writes, 'the Germans were transformed from prisoners to subjects'. Reality and morality were more complex, contradictory and murky. Germans in 1946 ranged from fanatical Nazis and soldiers who had participated in mass killings to German Jews and communists who had survived the Nazi camps. They included prisoners-of-war as well as raped women and those who had lost their family and homes during the allied bombings. By 1950, they would include over 100,000 people, mainly social democrats, who were interned in socialist East Germany.

Against the high hopes of Spender for a cultural rebirth, the allied occupation comes out very poorly. As Feigel rightly notes, by the early 1950s many higher positions in the arts as well as the civil service were once again filled by old faces. But because denazification was not complete, does not mean it was a complete failure. The vast majority of Nazi functionaries were actually punished, killed or interned: by the summer of 1946 there will still 120,000 of them in internment camps in the western zones. The confrontation with guilt retreated, but at least the space for any Nazi successor movement had been erased. It was the next generation that took on Spender's vision of moral renewal.

Frank Trentmann

***The Bitter Taste of Victory: In the Ruins of the Reich* by Lara Feigel,** *Bloomsbury 464pp £25*

MUSEUM

A McDonnell-Douglas F-4 Phantom jet at the American Air Museum.

The Special Relationship Renewed

Personal stories have been at the root of a dramatic century of Anglo-American military collaboration.

The American Air Museum
Newly reopened at the Imperial War Museum, Duxford, Cambs

IN JANUARY 1961, Lt Jack ReVelle of the 2702nd USA Explosive Ordnance Disposal Squadron was called out of bed to defuse a nuclear bomb. The weapon was one of two released when the faulty B-52 ferrying them broke up in mid-air over North Carolina. The parachute of one caught in a tree, leaving it hanging. The other was more difficult to recover, having plunged deep into a field. It took five days of digging before Jack could remove the uranium and plutonium 'pit', preventing an atomic explosion potentially greater than those that ended the Second World War. 'I will never forget hearing my sergeant tell me, "Lieutenant, we found the arm/safe switch",' Jack laughs. '"Great", I told him. "Not great", he said, "It's on arm"'. 'At that moment I was perfectly calm, I had a laser like focus', he remembers. The next morning however, writing to his parents, 'dear mum and dad, you'll never guess what I've been doing'. His hands were shaking so much he could hardly hold his pen.

A former comedian as well as a bomb disposal expert, Jack tells his story with gusto, sitting beneath the B-52 that takes centre stage in the newly refurbished American Air Museum at Duxford. Having later briefed military leaders on America's nuclear weapons stockpile, for five years he could not even leave the US without permission. 'It's a kick for me to be able to talk about this', he says now, 'so thousands of more people will know about what happened.'

A former comedian as well as a bomb disposal expert, Lt Jack ReVelle tells his story with great gusto

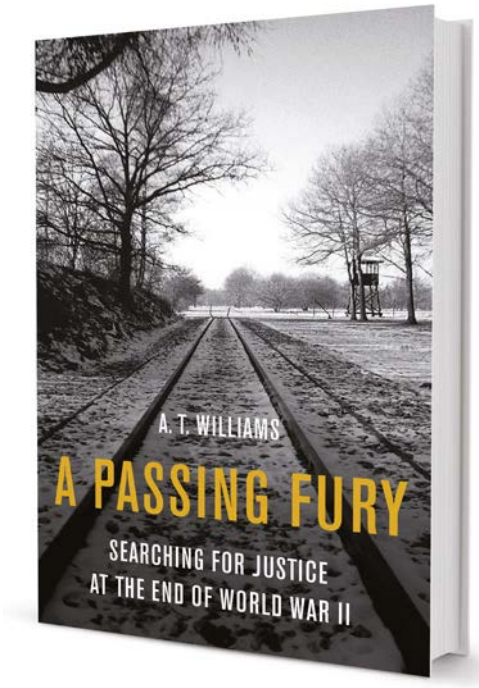
Jack's is one the life-stories shaped by the experience of conflict that are told through the display of 850 objects, touch-screen films and sound interviews, installed between the historic aircraft at the museum. The idea is to illuminate the experiences not just of the American airmen, hundreds of thousands of whom were based in Britain with the USAF during the war, but also of the Suffolk children who played on the airfields; American Red Cross flight nurses; and British GI brides, whose marriages perhaps best symbolise the special relationship that developed between Britain and the US.

As well as human depth, the transformed museum brings up to date the historic scope of the collection. Jack's is a Cold War story, but there are moving accounts ranging from the First World War to Afghanistan. The personal objects chosen to illustrate these tales include battered baseballs; T-shirts; letters returned when men were missing in action; a collection of bomb pins, each tagged with the date and place they were removed; a single suicide vest. They make a perfect foil for the huge aircraft that dominate the space. Beside a Lockheed-U2 spy plane are the Russian *matryoshka* dolls given to US reconnaissance pilot Gary Powers by his minders just before his exchange for a Soviet spy, a story recently dramatised in the film *Bridge of Spies*. A display about Greenham Common, used by both the RAF and USAF, presents stories and clothes from crew members; a guitar belonging to a woman from the peace camp; and the testimony of a policeman who recalled that 'the smell of the cooking' from the camp was 'beautiful'.

One of the most unusual displays tells the inspiring story of Anna Macdonald, the former British head of Oxfam's Arms Control programme. Anna moved to New York to lead a coalition of NGOs and the Defence Manufacturers Association, lobbying for the first international agreement on regulating the flow of arms worldwide. 'In campaigning', Anna says with cheerful resolve, 'if governments don't tell you you're mad when you start, you're probably not aiming high enough.' The UN adopted the pioneering Arms Trade Treaty in 2013. The Control Arms coalition now runs training with military personnel and various ministries of defence, while pursuing treaty violations. Anna is delighted to have the campaign represented at Duxford. 'The best place for weapons', she says, 'is in a museum.' She also hopes the display shows that 'with enough tenacity and strategy you can achieve change', even in issues at the heart of contemporary warfare.

Funded largely by the Heritage Lottery Fund, this is social history at its best, a gallery of stories as well as a museum of artefacts, collectively exploring Anglo-American collaboration in war and defence in very human terms.

Clare Mulley



SECOND WORLD WAR

How Much Did They Know?

A.T. Williams' account of the search for justice at the end of the Second World War offers no easy answers about how to deal with those who perpetrate crimes against humanity.

On April 15th, 1945 the end of the war in Europe was just three weeks away and British troops entered the concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen. They were shaken by what they found. The description of the camp by the BBC's war correspondent Richard Dimbleby so disturbed the corp-oration's executives that they were unsure whether it should be broadcast. Dimbleby allegedly threatened never again to work for the BBC and the Home Front was allowed to hear his cool, measured tones recounting what he saw: the starvation, the lice, the typhus, the piles of bodies and the implications of cannibalism among the shreds of humanity that survived. It was 'the world of a nightmare' and he had never seen British soldiers so angry and 'moved to such a cold fury'.

Britain and its allies had already agreed to deal with the leading figures of the Nazi regime, but the questions remained: how to deal with them and how far down the chain of command should this action go? These are the issues explored in A.T. Williams' splendid book.

A Passing Fury is much more than a historical narrative and assessment. Williams is Professor of Law at Warwick and the Director of the Centre for Human Rights in Practice. Throughout the book he reflects on how those charged with what we now term 'crimes against humanity' should be prosecuted

Much more than a historical narrative and assessment ... Williams reflects on what we now term 'crimes against humanity' ... and the problems that arise when a traditional legal format is deployed

and the problems that arise when a traditional legal format is deployed to prosecute such appalling offences.

There were members of the British government in favour of summary justice, but they gave way to American insistence on formal trials. The problems with this, and just about everything else connected with administering justice in such circumstances, were revealed as soon as the investigations began of those responsible for running Bergen-Belsen, several of whom had previously held command at Auschwitz. The authorities in London wanted the issue dealt with quickly; but there were so many witnesses that might be interviewed, the fittest of whom rapidly left the area often to return home, which was not necessarily in Germany. The investigation teams were small, rapidly thrown together and with little detective experience or necessary equipment. The demand issued in October 1945 that there be 500 trials in the British sector alone by the end of April 1946 was impossible. Even the investigation teams' cars could not stand the pace; it was estimated that such vehicles were travelling 30,000 miles a week and were often useless within a month.

If the investigators had problems, the British soldiers who were lawyers in peacetime and who prosecuted and defended, cocooned themselves in the intricacies of legal niceties. The defence wanted precise dates of beatings and of the weapons used, of setting dogs on prisoners, of murders. They sought to portray men like Josef Kramer, 'the beast of Belsen', as an honourable soldier forced to do a job against his wishes. Moreover, one defence counsel went so far as to suggest that 'the vast majority of the inhabitants of the concentration camps were the dregs of the Ghettoes of middle Europe'. There were even greater problems when the showpiece Nuremberg trials began, especially when Göring took the stand and, for most of the time, appeared to enjoy his exchanges with earnest prosecutors.

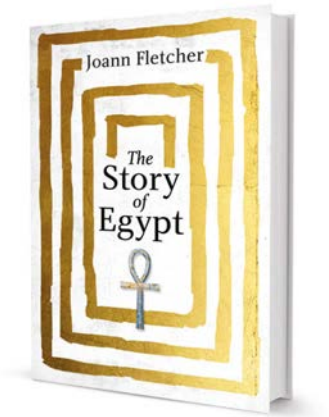
In his illuminating asides – which, from a lesser author, might easily be annoyingly tangential – Williams draws parallels with more recent trials, such as that of Slobodan Milosevic at The Hague, and he looks at other, more recent dictators and their henchmen, posing important questions about what constitutes 'evil' and who is, or might not be, capable of it.

There is also the question of how much the German population knew. My old history master had no doubts; a dedicated teacher and a gentleman of the old school, his tank unit had been close to Bergen-Belsen when British troops entered it. Williams tends to agree, but his book is not an indictment of either the Germans as a people or the allies, who so clearly failed in their attempts to bring comprehensive justice.

This is a superb book, which offers no easy answers but invites the reader to join its author on a grim odyssey and to think about horrendous crimes committed against peoples, why they are committed and what is the best way of dealing with the perpetrators. Always assuming, that is, that they can be brought to book.

Clive Emsley

***A Passing Fury: Searching for Justice at the End of World War II* by A.T. Williams** *Jonathan Cape 472 pp £25*



The Story of Egypt

by Joann Fletcher

Hodder & Stoughton 482pp £25

WRITING **a comprehensive history of Ancient Egypt is no easy task, especially when the author, as here, aims to create a more balanced story than that traditionally told, by 'pushing back boundaries beyond limited time frames, beyond current borders and beyond a male elite of kings and priests'. Fletcher's time frame is startlingly ambitious, taking us from the remains of a child from 55,000 years ago, to the cobra venom which dispatched Cleopatra – Shakespeare's 'descendant of so many kings' – in 30 BC. Her Genesis-like 'In the Beginning' first chapter explores the great Egyptian creation legends, enabling Fletcher to stress the duality of kingship in a civilisation where male and female elements comprise two halves of an essential whole.**

She relates nicely how many early 20th century (male) Egyptologists were reluctant to acknowledge any female pharaohs apart from the legendary Queen Hatshepsut. By contrast, Fletcher stresses the contributions of the female elite. For example, recent excavations at the 'Fourth Pyramid of Giza' suggest that Khentkawes I ruled as a pharaoh in her own right at the end of the Fourth Dynasty.

Fletcher makes good use of material culture to illuminate the role of women: the female burials, which contain weapons and jewellery, and skeletal evidence revealing osteoarthritis, which suggests load-bearing occupations. This focus on artefacts, however, can be at the expense of accuracy. Thus her illustration of the Tarkhan tunic in the Petrie Museum is erroneously captioned as having belonged to 'a young woman', whereas we have no proof as to the gender of its owner. Further, this garment was not found in a 'packing case', but, less romantically, buried deep within a crumpled heap of dirty linen rags.

Fletcher shows a penchant for anything to do with hair, from the earliest female extensions (c.3500 BC), to the hollow bodkin in the bound-up hair of Cleopatra, which was the most likely carrier of the poison. Red henna as a treatment for greying hair is also a feature.

An extensive bibliography enhances the book, but poor quality colour plates and the lack of a visual timeline detract. While refreshingly free from footnotes, it is frustrating to have to search the copious notes under specific textual phrases. The book is archaeologically and scientifically up to date: the unique Abydos birthing brick and the Ramesseum school are both mentioned, as is the 2012 CAT-scanning discovery that the mummy known as 'Ginger' in the British Museum was literally stabbed in the back.

The male elite appear in a new light. Fletcher quotes from the letter of Sennefer, a mayor of Thebes, to his tenant-farmer Baki asking for lotus blossoms to be made into bouquets, which must be 'fit for presentation'. The request ends with a warning: 'And don't be lazy! For I know that you are lazy and like eating in bed!'

Fletcher captures glimpses of the minutiae of everyday life and she succeeds in her quest to 'push back boundaries', as the Ancient Egyptians become part of our world today.

Rosalind Janssen

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Mikhail Gorbachev

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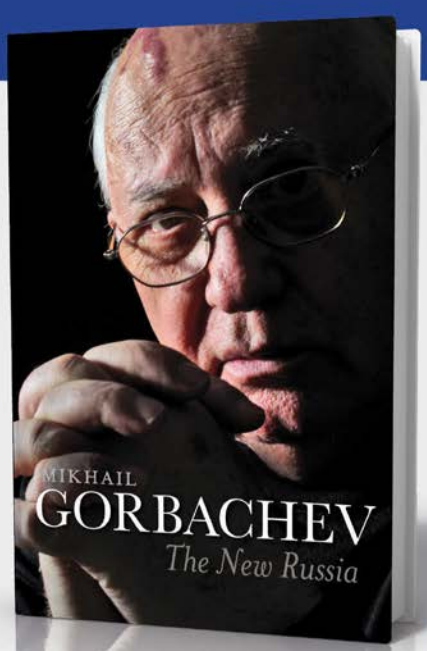

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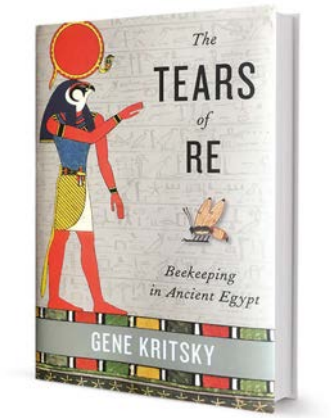

The Tears of Re

Beekeeping in Ancient Egypt
by Gene Kritsky
Oxford University Press, 133pp, £19.99

MANKIND'S **interaction with the honey bee, *apis mellifera*, and the magical properties of honey and beeswax, goes back well into the Mesolithic period. Wall paintings from Bicorp in Spain show a man harvesting honey from a wild colony; the drawing is estimated to be 8,000 years old. This person is doing what is still done today in some cultures: simply robbing the wild colony of its stored honey. Evidence of man farming honey bees comes from many ancient cultures where beehives have been found and we are all aware of the biblical term 'The Land of Milk and Honey'. The first documentary evidence of beekeeping comes from Ancient Egypt, where a hieroglyph of a honey bee occurs in the First Dynasty (c.5000 years ago). It was not until the Greco-Roman period (c.300 BC) that the lines 'The god Re wept and the tears from his eyes fell on the ground and turned into a bee' were inscribed on a papyrus now in the British Museum.**

The entomologist and Egyptologist Gene Kritsky journeys through time, cataloguing the use of the hieroglyphic symbol of the honey bee and the evidence of apiculture on a vast scale throughout Ancient Egypt. Beekeeping and the products of the hive were deeply embedded in Egyptian culture. The culinary and magical properties of honey were recognised, as they are today; honey was the only source of sweetness in ancient times. Beeswax was used in the preparation of cosmetics; painting by the encaustic technique in which beeswax was mixed with pigment; beeswax sculptures of the sons of Horus and the art of 'lost-wax' casting, the process used in making part of Tutankhamun's funerary mask. Beeswax was also used in the production of candles, hence the reason beekeeping is associated with ecclesiastical establishments even today.

The hieroglyph of the honey bee depicted on the book's cover was the symbol for the 'northern Delta region of upper Egypt' before apiculture was documented. The first evidence of the practice of beekeeping comes from scenes in the solar temple of Newoserre Any (2474-2444 BC). The development of apiculture is described through the increased incidence of carved beekeeping scenes and demonstrates the growing importance of bees, honey and wax in the economies and culture of Ancient Egypt, which was tightly controlled by the state, with many wonderful titles of government officials including 'Sealer of the Honey', 'Divine Sealer', 'Overseer of all Beekeepers' and 'Chief Beekeeper'.

This well-illustrated book works as a guide for the amateur Egyptologist, 'with step-by-step instructions to the evidence of ancient beekeeping at different archaeological sites and in different museums'. It is a great read for those with an interest in Ancient Egypt and the detective work that has revealed its complex, highly ordered and controlled society. The amateur beekeeper will also be fascinated by this book. We love to read everything we can about bees and this volume reveals the direct connection with our fellow beekeepers of 5,000 years ago.

Paul Bolam

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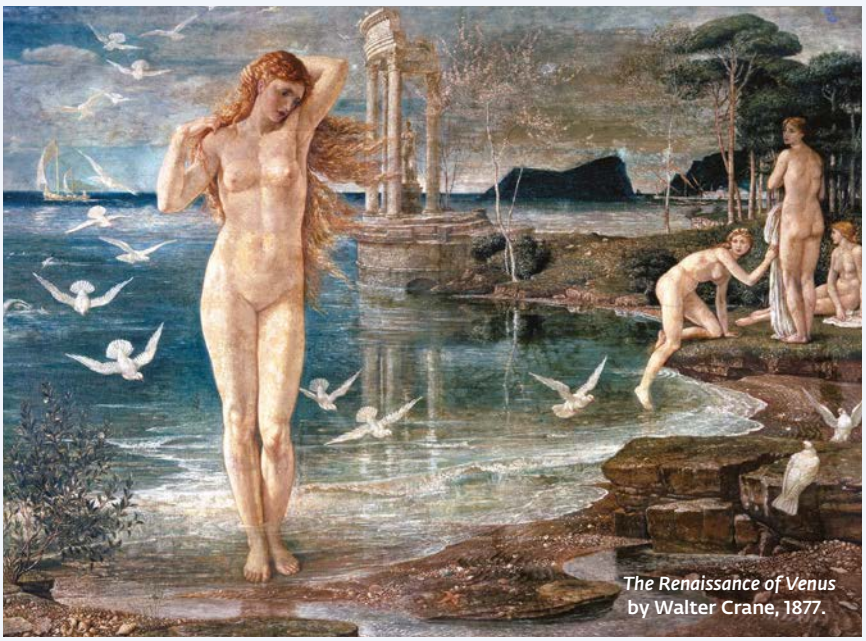
EXHIBITION



The Renaissance of Venus by Walter Crane, 1877.

Botticelli laid bare, but never bettered

There are pros and cons to 'reimagining' a great artist's work, so would it not be better to stage a traditional retrospective?

Botticelli Reimagined
V&A, London
until July 3rd, 2016

THE CONCEPT OF 'reimagining', that catch-all for postmodernist historians in the 1980s, suggested a newly theorised engagement with history. Perhaps this tendency was particularly important for the 'new art history', where a complete understanding of historical works of art demanded the abandonment of traditional iconographic studies. The term appeared in the titles of conferences which promised – but did not always deliver – various 'reimaginings'. As a critical term its usefulness seemed all but exhausted by the start of the new millennium. So it is a surprise to find it reappearing at the V&A in the title of their Spring 2016 exhibition devoted to the Florentine Renaissance artist, Sandro Botticelli. The exhibition is designed to take us on a path leading backwards from postmodernism via the rediscovery and reception of Botticelli in the 19th century to the artist's own works, stripping away layers of preconceptions and misunderstandings in the process.

Setting the curatorial agenda, *Botticelli Reimagined* kicks off with a confusing selection of works that quote from or allude to Botticelli's *The Birth of Venus* (c.1484-86) and *Primavera* (1477-82). With its glossy disco floor and claustrophobic atmosphere, Room 1 of the exhibition affords a glimpse into those Circles of Hell of Dante's *Inferno*, perhaps a previously uncharted Circle of the Deluded. In this section, the most interesting engagement with Botticelli's ideas is found in two embroidered frocks from the Italian fashion designer Elsa Schiaparelli's 1938 *Pagan* collection.

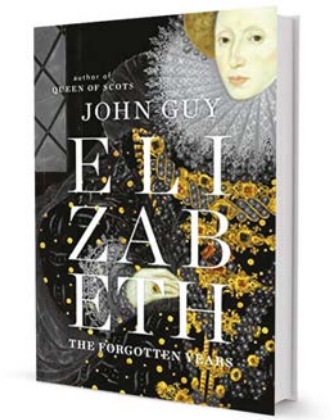
It is, nonetheless, a relief to arrive at the final, white room, simple, elegant and replete with 'real' Botticellis

When rediscovered in the 19th century Botticelli's allegories had lost their original meanings but none of their beauty. The middle room demonstrates the ways in which artists, mainly British, were inspired to think of their subjects in relation to qualities they perceived in Botticelli. Thus, we find a surfeit of sadness, mysteriousness and obscurity – sometimes all at once – in these highly stylised homages. Visitors will be familiar with many of these works but the new context changes and enhances them. Simeon Solomon's *Love in Autumn* (1866) takes on the melancholy – detected in Botticelli's works by Walter Pater and so eloquently described by him – to give an added colouration of same-sex desire. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's penumbrous *La Donna della Finestra* (1870) resonates with the influence of his own Botticelli acquisition, bought for £20 in 1867. Among less familiar works here, the Giulio Sartori *tondo*, which poses Marie D'Annunzio and her infant son as the *Madonna and Child* (1895), is a treat.

Despite these Victorian treasures it is, nonetheless, a relief to arrive at the final, white room, simple, elegant and replete with 'real' Botticellis (as there are only two signed works by the artist and a few undisputed or authenticated ones, there are many workshop paintings on show). The visual impact of the graphic yet subtly coloured works is considerable. They are chiefly of Christian religious subjects, fragments of altarpieces and Madonnas, rather than those devoted to mythological subjects. The Birmingham *Pentecost* (1505) is particularly striking and the drawing for the conjectured missing lower half of the original composition is of great interest. The magnetic *Pallas and the Centaur* (c.1489) is a potent reminder of the enthusiasm for classical culture in Renaissance Florence.

The difficulties of staging this exhibition are all too obvious. Three incomplete explorations of a subject do not compensate for the lack of a single, thorough one. The backward journey, essentially a 'design idea', does not help in our understanding of the complexities of the loss and restoration of the artist's reputation, let alone the imagery of his works, always puzzling even when the subjects are standard religious ones. Perhaps 'reimagining' was not what we needed after all but a straightforward face-to-face engagement with Botticelli's paintings. The well-informed catalogue seeks to explain and contextualise his works, but the 'problem' of the exhibition is betrayed in a cover design that crudely suggests that the first shiny black room is the key to the entire exhibition. Andy Warhol's 'reimagined' *Venus* (1984), all her allusiveness blanked out, decorates the front cover, while the head of a Botticelli *Venus* is relegated to the back.

Colin Cruise



Elizabeth

The Forgotten Years
by John Guy
Viking Penguin 512 pp £25

THERE IS A **lot to like about this book. John Guy's thesis is that Elizabeth's biographers have tended to concentrate on her life up to the age of 50 rather than the latter part of her reign, which Guy characterises as 'the forgotten years of war'.**

No warrior queen, Elizabeth would engage in war only as a defensive measure, not as a means of expansion, which frequently brought her into conflict with her advisers.

Guy's main point of departure is 1584, but initial chapters are prone to leap around chronologically and this reviewer found herself turning back the pages to see which year we were in. The use of 21st-century terms such as 'spin-doctor' also takes some getting used to, but this is part of Guy's energetic, unstuffy tone. There were errors and grammatical infelicities in the uncorrected proofs, which undoubtedly will be put right before the book goes to print. (For example, Guy refers to the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia as Philip II's only surviving daughter in 1586, ignoring her sister Catalina Micaela, who lived until 1597.)

Guy uses Elizabeth's handwritten letters and other primary sources wherever possible to get closer to her 'authentic' voice and the woman behind the mask of queenship. More than once, Guy describes the older, 'post-menopausal' Elizabeth as an 'ageing' or 'barren spinster', phrases that suggests the queen had no agency in her unmarried state: it is an argument that some readers might find problematic. It was – after all– she alone who had the power to accept or reject the numerous suitors who presented themselves over the years. However, it is part of Guy's argument that contemporary prejudices about the 'weaker sex' put a female ruler at a political disadvantage.

The Elizabeth presented here is the consummate politician, often achieving her ends by manipulating others. Female members of her entourage do appear, but their influence as courtiers with access to the queen is not fully explored.

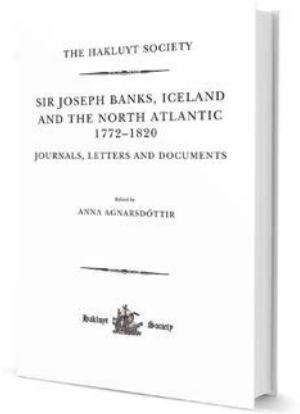
Guy is a lively guide to the military campaigns in Northern Europe; the rise of Robert Dudley; the queen's amorous and political flirtations with the Duke of Anjou (among others); the death of Sir Philip Sidney; the tumultuous career of Sir Walter Ralegh; the threats of attack by Philip II of Spain and counter-

The Elizabeth presented here is the consummate politician, often achieving her ends by manipulating others

attacks on Spain; Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland and much else up to Elizabeth's death and the coronation of James I & VI.

Guy is especially good when describing the political machinations of Burghley and Walsingham and the derring-do of Drake, Hawkins and Ralegh. However, it is the Earl of Essex who is really the star of this book. His explosive relationship with the queen and exploits in Cádiz and Ireland are well known, but Guy gives us a clear sense of a man who was brilliant, vain, petulant and self-serving in equal measure.

Janet Ravenscroft


THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY
SIR JOSEPH BANKS, ICELAND AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC 1772–1820
JOURNALS, LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS
ANNA AGNARSDÓTTIR

Sir Joseph Banks, Iceland and the North Atlantic 1772-1820: Journals, Letters and Documents

Edited by Anna Agnarsdóttir
The Hakluyt Society 708pp £85

ASH AND COD have long dominated foreigners' notions of Iceland. While other countries' ships fished the well-stocked seas, naturalists found the island's glacial ice and volcanic fire fascinating. First-hand information was scarce; some even wrote the island's natural history without ever going there. The first British survey was led by Joseph Banks in 1772. At a key moment in the invention of romantic aesthetics and in North Atlantic politics, Banks' journals and letters offer a gripping story of science and travel. They are now available in the Hakluyt Society's fine edition.

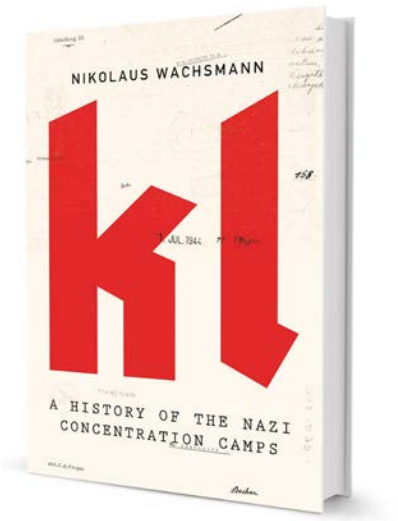
Banks was a scientific celebrity of late Georgian Britain. A gentleman of enormous wealth, he spent his twenties as a traveller and obsessive botanist. His hero was the Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus. In 1768 he recruited one of Linnaeus' followers, Daniel Solander, as his assistant. At first they planned to go to northern Lapland, where Linnaeus had won his scientific spurs. Instead they were offered the chance of a Grand Tour to the South Pacific on a voyage commanded by James Cook.

The Endeavour circumnavigation made Banks' reputation. When a second voyage was proposed in early 1772, Banks assembled a large team, but accommodation for his entourage on Cook's ship would render it unseaworthy and he withdrew in high dudgeon. His journal starts with a long chapter of complaints about the disaster. Instead, Banks sought alternative employment for his crew, including Solander and his friend (and future Swedish archbishop) Uno von Troil, as well as servants, musicians and a trio of artists led by the marine painter John Cleveley. Within a fortnight in early summer 1772, he hired a ship, the *Sir Lawrence*, and set off instead for the North Atlantic.

The *Sir Lawrence* voyage through the Western Isles brought the travellers to Staffa, where their descriptions of what they learnt to call Fingal's Cave were soon lapped up by audiences eager to learn of volcanic marvels. Hebrideans impressed Banks less. Nor, initially, was Icelandic hospitality better, since the expedition was at first taken to be a raiding party of pirates. But soon Banks' group met with a warmer welcome: his servants were so gorgeously uniformed that islanders found it hard to tell gentlemen from underlings. They visited the volcano Hekla, lava samples gathered and the astonishing geyser visited, where Banks arranged for a ptarmigan he had shot to be boiled in the hot spring.

Banks and the Icelanders impressed each other. There were honorific odes, feasts of cod and shark and collections of Icelandic literature and flora shipped home to London. Banks had Hekla and a map of Iceland on his visiting card and 'Baron Banks' became a favoured toast when Icelanders and British visitors met. During the Napoleonic Wars, which involved conflict between Denmark and Britain, Banks often recommended either the annexation of the island or its occupation. Ever since, romanticised appreciation of Iceland's marvels has been tangled up with similarly challenging political and environmental issues.

Simon Schaffer



SECOND WORLD WAR

A Light on History's Darkest Moment

A grimly detailed account of the Third Reich's concentration camps is a model history of a corrupt and corrupting system.

The concentration camp was an enduring and defining feature of the Third Reich. Internment camps have existed before and since, but only in Nazi Germany were they seen as such an important means of controlling and operating undesirables. The first 'wild' camps were created in response to the so-called national emergency that followed the Reichstag Fire on February 27th, 1933 and their successors were still around when the Allies fought their way through the ruins of the Reich in early 1945. During that time the camps went through many mutations and transformations, but in one thing they remained true to their original vocations: they meant violent treatment under a pseudo-military regimen. Those who were there were not committed by courts and prisoners had no clear indication of when they might be released.

The first camps were little more than torture chambers for Hitler's enemies, until Dachau provided the model for a new generation operated by the SS. The wild camps closed and the numbers of prisoners dwindled to a few hundred before Buchenwald opened in 1937. A new generation was created in 1938 based on the principle of using the inmates as a source of cheap labour. Work was a wholesome, liberating thing, hence the cynical slogan proclaimed at the gates: *Arbeit macht frei*. Much of the work in camps like Flossenbürg and Mauthausen was backbreaking (literally). Before the eastern death factories came into being, Mauthausen in Upper Austria was the most lethal. Until 1938, most inmates were 'Reds' – political opponents – with an admixture of criminals ('Greens'), but that year 'anti-socials' ('Blacks') were poured into the cocktail and, once Austria was merged with Germany, Jews. The mass-arrest of Jews following *Kristallnacht* in November that year was the first time Jews became the majority of prisoners in the camps.

That situation did not last, as most of the Jews were quickly released. At the outbreak of war, there were only 21,400 or so prisoners in the camps. War granted them a new lease of life: the huts filled up with foreign anti-Nazis: Czechs, Poles and Frenchmen. They were meant to work, but if there was no room, or if they were too weak, they were subjected to ever more repulsive methods of annihilation. Soviet POWs were a new staple after June 1941, by which time the Jews were once again the main business of many camps and their vast array of satellites. The invasion of the Soviet Union was also a smokescreen for the extermination of the Jews and led to Auschwitz assuming a central role in the process. The gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau were functioning by the spring of 1942 and churned out corpses until the late 1944.

Being Nazi Germany, there were bewildering numbers of agencies competing for business. Majdenek was not part of the same system, for example, as Odilo Globocnik's Belzec, Treblinka and Sobibor, which made no pretence at keeping prisoners alive. Dachau was the original training centre, producing the elite of the Camp SS, men such as Theodor Eicke, Karl Otto Koch, Johann Kremer or Rudolf Höss, all of whom installed their families in the immediate vicinity of the camps and enjoyed the new status they had gained in becoming masters of the crematoria, as they helped themselves to the last treasures of their victims.

Nikolaus Wachsmann is particularly good on SS corruption and this is, in almost all things, a model history of the camps. His book on Hitler's prisons was also excellent but *KL* is more stylish and relies more on specific case histories, which help the reader through a long and gruelling account. His insistence on the acronym 'KL' is mysterious as, in general, camps were referred to as 'KZs,' but I shall not let that dim my enthusiasm for what is a truly excellent book on one of history's darkest moments.

Giles MacDonogh

***KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* by Nikolaus Wachsmann**
Little, Brown 880pp £25

CONTRIBUTORS

Paul Bolam is emeritus Professor of Neuroscience at the Medical Research Council Brain Network Dynamics Unit at the University of Oxford. He is also an amateur beekeeper.

Colin Cruise is Professor of Art History at Staffordshire University. He writes chiefly on 19th-century painting and drawing and currently is researching for his new book on Rossetti as a draftsman.

Clive Emsley is author of *Soldier, Sailor, Beggarman, Thief: Crime and the British Armed Services since 1914* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

Rosalind Janssen is Lecturer in Education at the UCL Institute of Education, having previously been a Curator of the Petrie Museum and subsequently a Lecturer in Egyptology at the Institute of Archaeology.

Giles MacDonogh is the author of several books on German history.

Giulia Miller is the author of *Reconfiguring Surrealism in Modern Hebrew Literature* (Vallentine Mitchell, 2013).

Clare Mulley is the author of *The Spy Who Loved: the Secrets and Lives of Christine Granville* (Pan Macmillan, 2013).

Janet Ravenscroft is a Fellow of Queen Mary, University of London, and an external member of *Homo Debilis*, an international research group dedicated to the study of disability in Early Modern Europe.

Simon Schaffer is Professor of the History of Science at the University of Cambridge.

Daniel Snowman is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Historical Research. His books include a study of the Hitler émigrés.

Frank Trentmann is Professor of History at Birkbeck, University of London.

GRAND TOUR

HISTORICAL ODDITIES FROM AROUND THE WORLD

Kolmanskop (Coleman's Hill)

For the past 60 years the south Namibian desert has been reclaiming a settlement built by early 20th-century German colonists seeking diamonds. Namibia became a German colony in 1884, forming part of German South-West Africa. From 1904 to 1907, following an uprising, the occupiers carried out what is considered the first genocide of the 20th century, driving members of the Herero and Namaqua tribes into the desert, where many died from dehydration. In 1908 diamonds were discovered during the construction of a railway at Kolmanskop, near the port town of Lüderitz, and the inevitable rush prompted the building of a new settlement. In 1912 the area produced 11.7 per cent of the world's diamonds. At its height, the town of Kolmanskop was an enclave of Teutonic culture, with a pub, a hospital, a casino, a concert hall and, incredibly, an ice plant for producing lemonade. Water was transported 120km by train to nurture some of its 300 residents' gardens. Kolmanskop's decline began when the First World War interrupted mining operations. In 1928 more fertile diamond deposits were found 270km to the south and the inevitable rush saw the last family leave the town in 1956.

Rhys Griffiths

WHERE:

Near Lüderitz, Namibia

WHEN:

Founded 1908

Prize *Crossword*

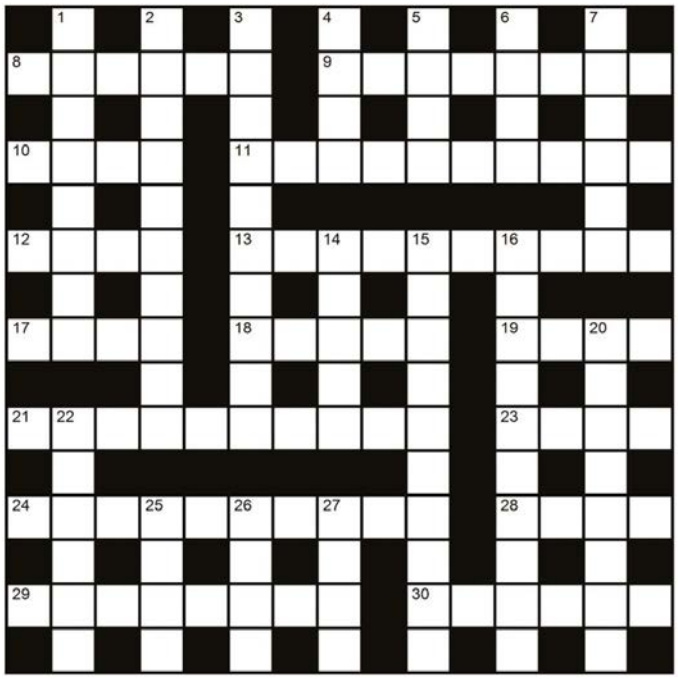
Set by Richard Smyth

ACROSS

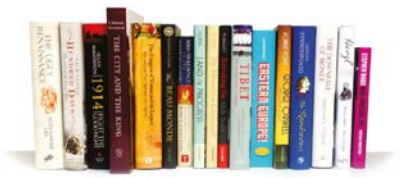
8 Mythical water nymph (6)
9 'Always ___, ___, ___! Eh! Mr Gibbon?' – William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, to Edward Gibbon (8)
10 Catherine ___ (1859-1947), Battersea-born writer and activist (4)
11 Industrial town in Lincolnshire (10)
12 European city, site of 1993 agreement between Israel and the PLO (4)
13 Fire-like element formerly thought to be released with combustion (10)
17 ___ Abbey, monastic ruin near Downpatrick in Northern Ireland (4)
18 Eachmarcach ___ (1720-90), harpist who played for the exiled Charles Edward Stuart in Rome (1'4)
19 Rosalind ___ (1890-1990), Egyptologist, known for her work on *The Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* (4)
21 US port city besieged in 1780 by British land and naval forces (10)
23 *East Of* ___, 1952 novel by John Steinbeck (4)
24 HMS ___, battlecruiser sunk at the Battle of Jutland (1916) (10)
28 'God made the country, and man made the ___' – William Cowper, 1785 (4)
29 Francois ___ (d.1553), French writer who published under the pseudonym Alcofribas Nasier (8)
30 Alf ___ (1880–1946), first footballer to be transferred for £1,000 (6)

DOWN

1 See 20
2 'He had won the victory over himself. He loved ___' – George Orwell, *1984* (1949) (3,7)
3 In Greek myth, queen of the underworld (10)
4 Abraham ___ (1864-1901), British spy, murdered by the Boers (4)
5 *True* ___, 1969 Henry Hathaway western (4)
6 River considered the boundary between Roman and Carthaginian Spain (4)
7 Syrian city besieged by Crusaders in 1098 and 1124 (6)
14 'Vote for the man who promises ___' – Bernard Baruch (5)
15 Environmental NGO founded in Canada in 1971 (10)
16 Song from *Porgy And Bess*, written in 1934 by George Gershwin and DuBose Heyward (10)
20/1 Author of *Winesburg, Ohio* (8,8)
22 Jonas ___ (d.1786), philanthropist, reputedly the first man in London to carry an umbrella (6)
25 Horace ___ (1900-16), boy soldier, killed on first day of the Somme (4)
26 Cassius Marcellus ___ (b.1942), later known as Muhammad Ali (4)
27 Vannevar ___ (1890-1974), developer of the Differential Analyzer (4)



The winner **of this month's prize crossword will receive a selection of recent history books**



Entries to: Crossword, *History Today*, 2nd Floor, 9 Staple Inn, London WC1V 7QH by May 31st or www.historytoday.com/crossword

The *Quiz*

1 What was unusual about the elite fighting force the Sacred Band of Thebes?

2 The Ergune River marks the traditional border between which two countries?

3 Begun in 1942, Britain's clandestine nuclear weapons operation was known by which codename?

4 Which African country has a capital city named for an American president?

5 Nueva Germania was an attempt to establish an Aryan colony. In which country was it located?

6 It was co-founded by the sister of which famous philosopher?

7 Which short-lived state was represented by the above flag?

8 Only one year has seen four different popes. Which was it?

9 Joseph Roth's 1932 novel *The Radetzky March* chronicles the decline of which major European polity?

10 The novel is named after a piece by which composer?

11 What, according to Nikita Khrushchev, was 'the testicle of the West'?

12 The Borjigid and the Tayichiud were different clans of which tribe?

13 Who united them?

14 Who described the 1969 Woodstock Festival as 'an excuse to sell tie-dye'?

15 What object did composer Giacomo Puccini describe as his 'favourite instrument'?

ANSWERS

1. It was composed of 150 pairs of male lovers
2. Russia and China
3. Tube Alloys
4. Liberia. Monrovia is named after James Monroe
5. Paraguay
6. Friedrich Nietzsche
7. North Caucasian Emirate (1919-20)
8. 1276
9. The Habsburg Empire
10. Johann Strauss I
11. Berlin
12. The Mongols
13. Genghis Khan
14. Bob Dylan
15. His rifle

From*theArchive*

There are two sides to every story but the survival of sources from antiquity means we do not always see both. **Tim Whitmarsh** calls for a more nuanced view of Jews in the Greco-Roman world.

Jews, Greeks and Romans

IN A 1981 *History Today* article, Jenny Morris speaks of 'the nexus of conflict, incomprehension and intolerance which characterises Greco-Roman relations with the Jews'. There were, of course, tensions and misunderstandings between all different ethnic groups throughout antiquity, but to present this antipathy as structural is misleading.

Two events cast long shadows over our sources: each the prompt for violent, polarising rhetoric, which, while certainly historically influential, can be misleading if taken as the norm for antiquity as a whole.

The first is the revolt of 167-160 BC, when Judah Maccabee led an uprising against the Seleucid Greek rulers of Judaea, painted in Jewish memory as a virtuous struggle against persecuting overlords. In the first four biblical books of Maccabees, the Seleucids emerge as brutal monsters who torture Jews for fun and ban them from carrying out their ancestral practices in the Temple. As John Ma has recently shown, however, the reality was probably more complex: the Seleucids withdrew Jewish control of the Temple and then restored it after a deputation of loyalist Jews interceded. If this reconstruction is right, it points to a much more complex picture of Greco-Jewish relations than the colourful propaganda found in Maccabean literature.

The Roman sack of Jerusalem in AD 70 had an even more profound effect on relationships between Jews and others. The fledgling Flavian dynasty, in the aftermath of the disastrous 'year of the four emperors' (AD 69), needed a big victory over an intimidating foreign foe. A Jewish rebellion beginning in 66, unfortunately, fulfilled this need; Jerusalem was torched and the population massacred. Romans then began describing Jews in monstrously exaggerated language. Anti-Jewish sentiment had a profound effect on the emerging Christian movement, which increasingly sought to differentiate itself from Judaism.

It would, however, be bad methodology to see the sack of Jerusalem and subsequent anti-Jewish rhetoric as the fulfillment of a long-term design, as if relationships between Greeks, Romans and Jews were inherently hostile and destined for violence from the start. The horrors of 70 were the result of political improvisation, not destiny. There is no denying the existence of tensions and sporadic bouts of violence between communities, or that, long before AD 70, some Greco-Roman writers said insulting things about Jews. But there was no inherent antipathy between civilisations.

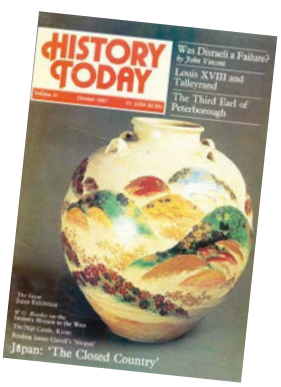
It is important to remember that cultures are not coherent, stable or 'essential' entities

It should be pointed out, indeed, that we know about Greek antisemitic literature in the late first century AD almost entirely because of *Against Apion*, by Josephus, defending the Jews against the slew of antisemitism that followed the Jewish War. What we do not have is any systematic, representative selection of Greco-Roman views about Jews to counter this. One such text was Alexander Polyhistor's now-lost *On the Jews*, composed in Greek by a captive former citizen of Miletus in the early first century BC. The surviving fragments show no trace of sensationalism and judgmentalism, only an ethnographic curiosity. It also attested to the lively cross-fertilisation between Jewish and Greek culture in the Hellenistic period. It is ultimately thanks to Alexander that we know of (and even have fragments of) Greek epic poems written by Jews on Jewish themes and even a remarkable Greek tragedy composed by one Ezekiel on the theme of the Israelite exodus.

The classical world was certainly a dangerous place, but we should not forget that normal life involved high levels of civic integration. Before 70, and to some extent even afterwards, Jews flourished in Greco-Roman cities throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

Why does this matter? Partly for reasons of intellectual integrity, but also because such simplifications can contribute to pernicious modern political narratives. At a time when identities seem to be congealing and polarising around the world, it is important to remember that cultures are not coherent, stable or 'essential' entities. Interethnic violence is a moral choice taken by individuals, not the result of historical inevitabilities.

Tim Whitmarsh is author of *Battling the Gods: Atheism in the Ancient World* (Faber & Faber, 2015).



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